

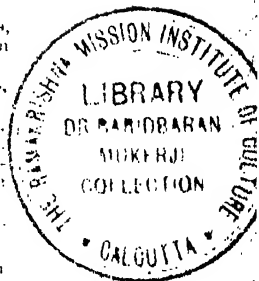
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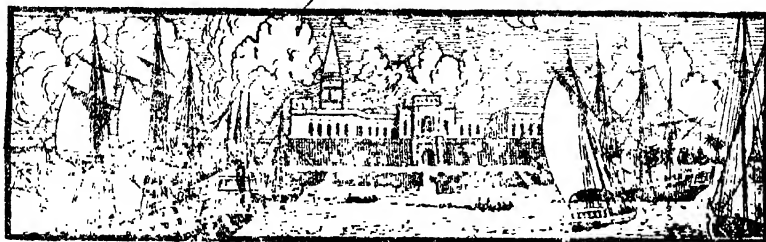
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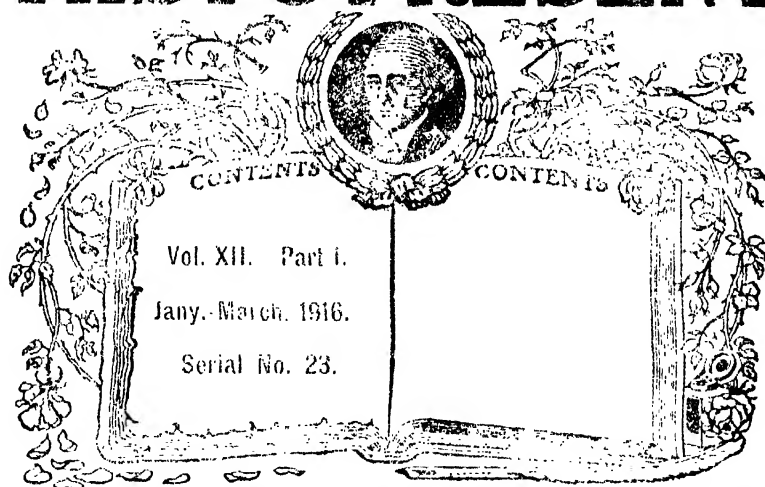
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The Governor-General of a Day.

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IN volume one of this Journal, Mr. A. P. Muddiman of the Indian Civil Service, now Secretary, Legislative Department, Government of India, contributed an article on the above subject in which he described briefly the events of the 20th June 1777 when General Clavering presided at the Council House as Governor-General with Philip Francis as his colleague, while Warren Hastings presided in the same capacity over the Board of Revenue with Richard Barwell as a Councillor. On that day there were two persons in Calcutta asserting the right, and privileges of the Governor-General of India. The Minutes of Consultations of the Governor-General's Council of that day have never been published before with all the necessary enclosures. Mr. Muddiman referred to them as briefly as he could within the compass of a short paper. On my application the Government of India have now permitted their *verbatim* reproduction in *Bengal: Past & Present*.

S. C. SANIAL.

No 9

FORT WILLIAM, 20TH JUNE 1777.

AT A COUNCIL.

PRESENT:

Pub. Dept.,
Friday.

Lieut.-Genl. John Clavering who takes the oath of Governor-General.
Philip Francis, Esq.

READ again the General Letter received yesterday from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

Genl. Clavering to
the Secretary.

READ the following letter from Genl. Clavering to the Secretary

To J. P. AURIOL, ESQ.

Secretary to the Supreme Council, &c.

Sir,

In consequence of the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors under date the 30th October 1776 received and read yesterday in Council by which this Government is informed that Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble Court of Directors had accepted such resignation, and that the vacancy thereby created had been filled up by the appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors and approved of by His Majesty in the manner and according to the forms prescribed by law, and another letter

BENGAL : PAST & PRESENT.

dated the 15th November 1775, from Mr. Peter Mitchell, Secretary to the Hon'ble Court of Directors having also been received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing date the 26th day of October 1776 by which His Majesty consents to and approves of the above-mentioned nomination and appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council, avoided by my promotion to the place and office of Governor-General.

I do hereby order and direct you to issue immediately a summons in my name as Governor-General to Rich. Barwell and Philip Francis, Esqs., to attend a meeting of the Council at the Council House at eleven o'clock this forenoon, for the special purpose of issuing the necessary directions for proclaiming the change in the Government, and for giving such other orders and directions as may be necessary thereupon.

FRIDAY MORNING,

20th June 1777.

I am &c.,

(Signed) J. CLAVERING.

THE Secretary informs the Board that he issued the summons above directed and that they were accordingly delivered to Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis.

THE Governor-General having taken the accustomed oath, assumes the chair.

RESOLVED that the Sheriff be ordered to attend immediately.

RESOLVED that the following Proclamation be made by the Sheriff attended by his officers at 5 o'clock this afternoon at the Court-house.

PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty entitled "an Act for the establishing certain Regulations for the better management of the "Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe:" it is, among other things, enacted that, Warren Hastings, Esq., be constituted Governor-General and Lieut.-Genl. John Clavering, the Hon'ble Geo. Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis, Esqs., Councillors of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal and its Dependencies : and whereas it is further provided by the said Act, that in case of the avoidance of the office of Governor-General by death, resignation or removal, his place shall, as often as the case shall happen, be supplied by the person of the Council who stands next in rank to such Governor-General : and whereas by a letter from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors of the Hon'ble United East India Company under date the 30th October 1776, received and read yesterday in Council, this Government is informed that

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF A DAY.

Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble the Court of Directors had accepted such resignation and that the vacancy thereby created had been filled up by the appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors and approved of by His Majesty, in the manner and according to the form prescribed by law: and whereas another letter, dated the 15th November 1776, from Peter Mitchell, Esq., Secretary to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, was also received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing date the 26th day of October 1776, by which His Majesty consents to, approves and confirms the abovementioned nomination and appointment of Edwd. Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council avoided by the promotion of John Clavering, Esq., to the place and office of Governor-General: and whereas in consequence of the said resignation of Warren Hastings, Esq., and of the said appointment of Edwd. Wheeler, Esq., the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, with all the powers and authorities thereunto belonging are now by law vested in the Hon'ble John Clavering, Esq., Governor-General and Richard Barwell, Philip Francis and Edward Wheeler, Esqs., (on his arrival in Bengal), Councillors. The Hon'ble Colonel Geo. Monson being deceased: it is hereby proclaimed that the powers vested in the said Governor-General and Council do commence and take place from the date of this Proclamation.

Dated in Fort William this 20th day of June 1777.

By Order of the Honorable the Governor-General and Council.

AGREED that the Governor-General be requested to order a Guard to attend upon the Sheriff during this ceremony.

ORDERED that the Proclamation be translated into the Persian and Bengal languages, that it be pasted up in the usual public places and that copies be circulated to the Foreign Presidencies, the Provincial Councils, Subordinates and Commandants of each station of the army and that the Judges and Board of Trade be likewise furnished with copies.

RESOLVED that the Governor-General be requested to notify this change in the Government of this Presidency to all the Country Powers in the usual manner.

THE Commandants of Stations to be informed that they are to transmit their returns to the Governor-General till a successor to the Commander-in-Chief be appointed from the Court of Directors.

THE Governor-General lays before the Board the following letters, which he has just now received.

TO LIEUT.-GENL. JOHN CLAVERING.

Sir,

The Governor-General in Council legally and regularly assembled has laid before us a letter of this date received by him at the Board from you, expressing that "in consequence of the letter from the Hon'ble Court of Directors under date the 30th October 1776 received and read yesterday in "Council, by which this Government is informed that Warren Hastings, Esq., "had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble the "Court of Directors had accepted such resignation and that the vacancy "thereby created in the Council had been filled up by the appointment of "Edwd. Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors "and approved of by His Majesty in the manner and according to the forms "prescribed by law, and another letter dated the 15th November 1776 from "Mr. Peter Mitchell, Secretary to the Hon'ble Court of Directors having also "been received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is "transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing "date the 26th day of October 1776 by which His Majesty consents to and "approves of the abovementioned nomination and appointment of Edward "Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the "Governor-General and Council avoided by your promotion to the place "and office of Governor-General, you in virtue of the right and authority "now by law vested in you, require that he will be pleased to surrender to "you the keys of Fort William, and of the Company's Treasuries now in his "possession."

"That you will be at the Council House at twelve o'clock this day, "where you understand it has been usual for the former Governors of this "Presidency to surrender the keys to their successors, but if it should not "be agreeable to him, to meet you there, that you leave it in his option to "take any other suitable method of complying with this requisition, that he "may prefer, provided that it be done in the course of the present day."

In answer to which we have thought incumbent on us to inform you that we know of no act or instrument, by which the place and offices of Mr. Warren Hastings as Governor-General are vacated, nor by which they have actually devolved on you, and that we are resolved to assert and maintain by every legal means the authority and trust which have been reposed in him by the Thirteenth Act of his present Majesty entitled "An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe," and by a deed of Government under the hands of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and the seal of the United East India Company until the same shall be avoided by his resignation or death, or by the express command of His Majesty, His

Heirs and Successors, without which it is declared that he shall not be removeable.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

REVENUE DEPT.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). { WARREN HASTINGS.
RICHARD BARWELL.

THE GOVERNOR acquaints the Board, that having sent a similar letter to that first entered on this day's Proceedings to Mr. Sumner, the Secretary to the Board of Revenue, directing him to summon a meeting of the Council in that department at one o'clock this day, and to require the Roy Royan to give his attendance as usual, he has received the following answer from him :—

To LIEUT.-GENL. CLAVERING.

Sir,

Having been honored with the receipt of your commands of this date at the Board, I am commanded by Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, and Richard Barwell, Esq., to write you in reply, that the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell being met in Council, in consequence of the summons regularly issued for that purpose by the Governor-General, as being the majority of the Council require your attendance in virtue of that authority.

REVENUE DEPT.,

20th June 1777.

I have the honor to remain, &c.,

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,
Secretary.

THE Assistant Secretary reports to the Board, that having taken the above Proclamation to the Persian Translator's office to be translated according to the orders of the Board, the Persian Translator refused to translate it, without written orders for that purpose, from the Governor-General and Council.

ORDERED that the Persian Translator be immediately required to attend.

THE Persian Translator attending, is asked if he refused to translate the above-mentioned Proclamation, and replies that he did, as he thought it necessary to be furnished with a formal order from the Governor-General and Council for his authority. Having been allowed to peruse the paragraphs of the General Letter from the Court of Directors and the copy of the instrument signed by the King, he says that he thinks it appears by

these documents, that the Court of Directors did intend to appoint General Clavering Governor-General, but that he is not satisfied that such appointment has yet taken place.

THE SECRETARY lays before the Board the following letters which he has received this instant :—

To JAS. PR. AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Council-General.

Sir,

We direct you not to issue any summons for the meeting of Council but by the authority of Warren Hastings, Esq., the Governor-General, nor any orders nor directions to any person or persons whatsoever, without the legal authority of the said Governor-General or the majority of the Council so assembled.

We are,

Sir,

Your most obedt. servants,

REVENUE DEPT.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). { WARREN HASTINGS.
RICHARD BARWELL.

To JAS. PR. AURIOL, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Council-General.

Sir,

I am ordered by the Governor-General and Council to require that you will send immediately the despatches from Europe received yesterday, and read and recorded in the Proceedings of your department.

I am, Sir,

FORT WILLIAM,

20th June 1777.

Your most obedt. hble servant.

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,
Secretary.

THE SECRETARY also lays before the Board his answers to these letters {which he prepared according to their orders and approbation as follows :—

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS and to RICHD. BARWELL, ESQS.

Gentlemen,

I have this instant been honoured with your commands not to issue any summons for the meeting of Council but by the authority of Warren Hastings, Esq., the Governor-General, nor any orders nor directions to any

person or persons whatsoever, without the legal authority of the said Governor-General, or the majority of Council, so assembled. I beg leave to acquaint you that previous to the receipt of these commands, I had issued summons to Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis to meet General Clavering in Council, in consequence of directions which I received from him this morning, requiring me to issue them in his name as Governor-General.

I take the liberty to enclose a copy of General Clavering's letter to me on this occasion, which, I hope, will be sufficient to justify my conduct in your opinion, for although I had seen the General Letters referred to by General Clavering, I could not presume for my own part to form any judgment on the facts which he has collected from them. I therefore thought it my duty to comply with his desire.

FR. WILLIAM,
20th June 1777.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) J. P. AURIOL,
Secretary.

To RICHD. SUMNER, ESQ.

Sir,

I have this instant received your application for the Dispatches from Europe received yesterday. In answer to which I am to acquaint you, they are in the possession of General Clavering to whom I delivered them this morning in consequence of his requisition.

I am, &c.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). JAS. PR. AURIOL,
Secretary.

MR. BARWELL comes into the Council Room.

BEING questioned whether he meant to take his place, he declined giving any answer. It is necessary to record that he made a demand as a member of the Council for the letters and papers received yesterday from the Court of Directors and being told they could not be spared from the Board after repeating his demand in different questions to the same import he withdrew.

THE SECRETARY lays before the Board another letter to him from the Secretary to the Revenue Department as follows :—

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General, etc. Council again to make application to you for the original letters and papers received yesterday from the Court of Directors, and to acquaint you that if they are in the possession of any Member of the Board, you are

required to demand them from him, informing him that the Governor-General wishes to submit them to the Judges of the Supreme Court for their opinion, upon them by which it is his determination to abide, and the Chief Justice and three other Judges are accordingly assembled at the Council House in this department for that purpose.

I am,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,

REVENUE DEPT.,

20th June 1777.

Secretary.

ORDERED that the following reply be sent to him :—

TO RICHD. SUMNER, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Board of Revenue.

SIR,

In reply to your further application for the original letters and papers received yesterday from the Court of Directors, I am ordered by General Clavering as Governor-General, and Mr. Francis to desire that you will be pleased to inform the Judges, that they are now preparing an address to them, with respect to the conduct they have pursued, since the receipt of the above letters which they conceive have divested Mr. Hastings of the office of Governor-General, and that it is their intention to send them all the letters and papers as soon as this letter to the Judges can be finished, which will be in a couple of hours. They hope, therefore, that the Judges will be pleased to determine among themselves at what place and hour in the course of this evening that they will receive the above papers and take them into their serious consideration, without the presence of any member of the late or present administration.

I am, &c.,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). J. P. AURIOL,

Secretary.

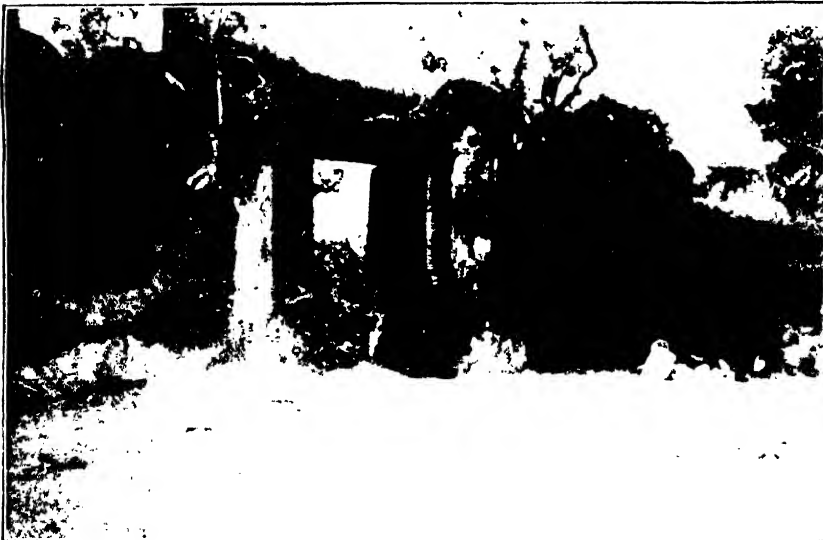
THE BOARD taking into mature consideration the above letter from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell RESOLVE to make the following address to His Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court.

HON'BLE SIRS,

We have the honour to inform you that a packet arrived yesterday from the Court of Directors addressed to the Governor-General and Council containing the enclosed postscript dated 30th October 1776, to their General



JAL LAL GARH FORT.



JAL LAL GARH FORT ENTRANCE.

Letter of the 25th of the same month, with sundry other papers relative to the resignation of Mr. Hastings of the office of Governor-General and of the nomination and appointment of Mr. Wheeler to the seat in the Council avoided by the resignation of Mr. Hastings and consequent promotion of General Clavering to the place and office of Governor-General.

We have also the honour to inform you that a letter was received yesterday from the Secretary to the Court of Directors dated the 15th November last, in which the enclosed attested copy is transmitted of an instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual, dated the 26th October by which His Majesty consents to, approves and confirms, the above-mentioned nomination and appointment of Mr. Wheeler. These several papers were read yesterday in Council, and as soon as they were read the Council broke up, though irregularly as we conceive the surrender of the Chair and of the keys of the Fort should have been immediately made to General Clavering.

Considerations of respect to Mr. Hastings induced General Clavering to wait a reasonable time for the formal surrender of the Government to him, but Mr. Hastings having made no communication whatever to General Clavering before 10 o'clock this morning, the General thought it incumbent upon him to send a formal requisition in writing to Mr. Hastings of the keys of the New Fort and of the Treasuries. In answer to this requisition, he has received a letter, signed by Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell in which they say, they know of no act or instrument by which the place and office of Warren Hastings, as Governor-General, are vacated, nor by which they have actually devolved upon General Clavering, and that they are resolved to assert and maintain by every legal means, the authority and trusts which have been reposed in Mr. Hastings by the 13th Act of His present Majesty.

Before the receipt of this letter General Clavering had ordered the Secretary to the Council to issue a summons to Mr. Barwell and Mr. Francis to meet him in Council this day for the special purpose of issuing the necessary directions for proclaiming the change in the Government, and for issuing such other orders and directions as might be necessary thereupon. Mr. Francis complied with the summons issued in the name of General Clavering as Governor-General who upon the meeting of the Board at 11 o'clock this day took the oaths as Governor-General. Other Orders preparatory to the Proclamation were then directed to be made out, but no act of Government has yet issued from us as a Board.

In this situation the representation of which will, we doubt not, fill you with the greatest surprise and alarm, we have thought it prudent and necessary to state the foregoing facts to you, We would not be understood to submit any doubts to you concerning the lawful promotion of General Clavering to the Chair, since we ourselves entertain none. But when we

consider the fatal consequences that must unavoidably attend a claim, and actual assumption of the Government by the Member of Council next in succession to Mr. Hastings and a positive refusal of Mr. Hastings to surrender the place and office of Governor-General, which we conceive the letter signed by him and Mr. Barwell does amount to, which letter we have the honour to enclose to you, we are content to recede thus (*torn in the original*) from the strict rights vested in us, as a majority of the present administration, rather than hazard any of those consequences in the hope that by an appeal to your judgment and authority it may be possible to prevent them. We beg leave to enclose to you all the papers received yesterday and request that when you shall have formed your opinion upon them, they may be returned to General Clavering.

We have the honour, &c.,

20th June 1777.

Signed. { J. CALVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

RESOLVED that all the orders minuted in this day's Proceeding be suspended for the present.

APPENDIX TO CONSULTATION 20TH JUNE 1777.

TO WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

SIR,

In consequence of the letter from the Honble Court of Directors under date the 30th of October 1776 received and read yesterday in Council, by which this Government is informed that Warren Hastings, Esq., had resigned the office of Governor-General of Bengal, that the Hon'ble Court of Directors had accepted such resignation, and that the vacancy thereby created in the Council had been filled up by the appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., nominated and appointed by the Court of Directors, and approved by His Majesty in the manner and according to the forms prescribed by law; and another letter dated the 15th November 1776 from Mr. Peter Mitchell, Secretary to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, having also been received and read yesterday in Council, in which an attested copy is transmitted of the instrument under His Majesty's Sign Manual, bearing date the 26th day of October 1776 by which His Majesty consents to, and approves of the above-mentioned nomination and appointment of Edward Wheeler, Esq., to the place and office of one of the Councillors of the Governor-General and Council avoided by my promotion to the place and Office of Governor-General, I am, Sir, in virtue of the right and authority now by law vested in me, to require that you will be pleased to surrender to me the keys of Fort William and of the Company's Treasuries now in your possession.

No. 1.
Letter from General
Clavering to Mr.
Hastings.

I shall be at the Council House at 12 o'clock this day where I understand it has been usual for the former Governors of this Presidency to surrender the keys to their successors, but if it should be disagreeable to you to meet me there, I leave it to your option to take any other suitable method of complying with this requisition that you may prefer provided it be done in the course of the present day.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

FORT WILLIAM,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

20th June 1777.

(Signed). J. CLAVERING.

To LIEUT.-GENL. JOHN CLAVERING and PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,

No. 2
Letter from the
Chief Justice, etc.,
to Gen^l Clavering
and Mr. Francis,
dated 20th June
received early in
the morning of
the 21st.

We are honoured with the favour of yours of this day, informing us of the arrival of a packet from the Court of Directors, and enclosing several papers endorsed in the following manner:—(No. 1) Copy of the Postscript of a General Letter from the Court of Directors dated 30th October 1776: (No. 2) Mr. Maclean's Letter to the Court of Directors dated the 10th October 1776: (No. 3) A Memorial and Petition to His Majesty: (No. 4) Lord Viscount Weymouth's Letter to the Court of Directors dated 25th October 1776: (No. 5) Commission to Edward Wheeler, Esq., as one of the Council in Bengal: (No. 6) His Majesty's approval of Mr. Wheeler as one of the Council in Bengal: (No. 7) A Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell to General Clavering. You also acquaint us with your Proceedings you had thereupon with the formal requisition made to Mr. Hastings by General Clavering of the keys of the New Fort and of the Treasuries with the answer of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell thereto, and with your proceedings of this day.

The representation which you make to us fills us as you suppose it would, with the greatest surprise and alarm, though they are in some measure abated by your notification that no act had issued from you as a Board. We shall be much rejoiced if your appeal to our judgment and authority shall prevent the ill consequences of which you are apprehensive.

Upon mature consideration of the papers submitted to us by you we are unanimously, clearly and decidedly of opinion that the place and office of Governor-General of this Presidency has not yet been vacated by Mr. Hastings, and that the actual assumption of the Government by the Member of Council next in succession to Mr. Hastings in consequence of any deductions which can be made from the papers by you communicated to us would be absolutely illegal for the following reasons:—

1st.—Because the office of Governor-General was conferred on Mr. Hastings by Act of Parliament and according to the terms of that Act can

only be vacated by death, removal or resignation. That Mr. Hastings is not dead, is a notorious fact: no intention is manifested or act done by the Directors tending to his removal, and we are firmly of opinion that he hath not actually resigned.

2nd.—Colonel Maclean's letter the only instrument by which Mr. Hastings can by any one be conceived to have relinquished his office is in fact no resignation, but a notification of the Governor-General's desire to resign, and can at the utmost only be construed into an engagement on the part of Mr. Maclean that Mr. Hastings will resign. His words are speaking of Mr. Hastings. He has "authorized, empowered and directed me to signify to you his *desire to resign* his office of Governor-General of Bengal and to request your nomination of a successor to the vacancy which *will* be thereby occasioned in the Supreme Council." He neither asserts himself to be authorized, nor does he take upon him in fact to make any actual resignation. He only intimates an intention of the Governor to take place in future, he does not request a nomination of a successor to a vacancy which he had by his letter effected, but to that which would in future be occasioned by Mr. Hastings' carrying his intent into execution, and actually resigning.

3rd.—The Directors by the postscript to their General Letter do not treat the act of Mr. Maclean as the resignation of Mr. Hastings. They recite it only as a signification of Mr. Hastings' *desire* to resign. Nor do they consider a vacancy as at that time existing in the Council. Their words are "that they did nominate and appoint Edward Wheeler, Esq., to succeed to the office in the Council of Fort William which *would become vacant*" (not *which is or hath become vacant*) by the resignation of Mr. Hastings, which in another part of the same postscript they say, "they have unanimously resolved to accept," intending thereby to accept it when it should be made.

4th.—That this and no other could be their intention is evinced beyond the possibility of a doubt by their memorial and petition to the King in which they intimate to His Majesty that Mr. Hastings has caused notice to be given to them of his desire to resign, not of his resignation. So far were they from esteeming it an actual resignation that in the very next sentence they expressly call it a *proposed resignation*. Their words are these, "taking the said *proposed resignation* into consideration, they have nominated and appointed Edward Wheeler, Esq., to succeed to the said office in the said Council *which will become vacant by the said resignation*." The words which immediately follow, "if such nomination shall be approved of by Your Majesty," must be referred to the nomination and appointment which they say have been made, for to the validity of such

nomination and appointment the King's approbation is required by law, but cannot possibly relate to the intended resignation on which it could have no effect. Without His Majesty's consent the Directors could not effectually appoint, but without His Majesty's consent Mr. Hastings could resign. The construction does not depend upon the recital alone. The very prayer of the petition is that they may appoint in succession to an office which is to become vacant in future by the resignation of Mr. Hastings and proves that we have rightly applied the words "if such nomination shall be approved of by Your Majesty." The words of the prayer are these, "Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that Your Majesty will be pleased to signify such consent by Your Majesty's Sign Manual as by the said Act is required that the said Edward Wheeler may be appointed to succeed to the office which will become vacant in the said Council by the aforesaid resignation of the said Warren Hastings."

5th.—That Mr. Wheeler was not appointed to a vacancy then actually made was certainly understood by His Majesty's Secretary of State as well as by the Company. He likewise calls it a succession to an office which will become vacant and recognizes Mr. Hastings as Governor-General at a time subsequent to the supposed resignation. His words are, "The King has been graciously pleased to approve of your nomination of Edward Wheeler, Esq., to succeed to the office which *will become vacant* in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal in consequence of the resignation of Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General."

6th.—The Commission to Mr. Wheeler is not framed with any idea of his being appointed to an office then actually vacant. That instrument likewise recites simply the desire, not the resignation of Mr. Hastings. That resignation and its consequences are plainly considered as future events. Mr. Wheeler's exercise of his functions, and receipt of his salary, are not to commence from the date of the instrument from the delivery of Mr. Maclean's letter to the Directors, from the notification thereof in Bengal, or from Mr. Wheeler's arrival in Calcutta, but from that future time when the office of one of the Council of this Presidency shall become vacant by Mr. Hastings's resignation. The respective successions of General Clavering to the office of Governor-General, and of Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis to become the three Senior Members of the Council are not considered as having actually taken place but as future consequences of a future resignation. In speaking of the appointment of Mr. Wheeler their words are these: "Now know ye that we considering it to be expedient that the office of the said Council which will become vacant by the aforesaid resignation of the said Warren Hastings should be filled up and supplied as soon as may be and reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, prudence, justice

"and circumspection of Edward Wheeler, Esq., have nominated and appointed and by these presents do (pursuant to the power vested in us as Directors of the said United Company in and by the said recited Act of Parliament) nominate, appoint the said Edward Wheeler to be one of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to take upon him, hold and enjoy the said office with the salary thereto belonging from and immediately after the said office of one of the Council of the said Presidency of Bengal shall become vacant by the said resignation of the said Warren Hastings." They recite the successions necessarily consequent on the resignation which they invariably consider as an act not done but to be done in the following words: "And whereas *upon* such resignation of the said Warren Hastings as aforesaid, the said John Clavering, according to the directions of the said recited Act of Parliament *will succeed* to the said office of Governor-General, and the said George Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis *will* thereupon become the three Senior Members of the said Council, &c." It is true that in His Majesty's approbation of this appointment this expression is used, "The place and office of one of the Councillors is *said to be avoided*," but this is no averment of the fact, which a comparison of all the papers before us proves not to have existed, and had such a fact been erroneously averred, the misrepresentation thereof to His Majesty would not in law have vacated the office. Even Letters Patent under the great Seal are void where by a false recital of facts, His Majesty has been deceived. His Majesty's Sign Manual could only be meant to give a sanction to such appointment of Mr. Wheeler as the Directors had actually made, and that appears to us to be only a provisional nomination to an office which is to be enjoyed on a future contingency.

The consideration of this instrument under the Sign Manual naturally leads us to a remark on the notion, if any such notion can have been conceived, that the office in question is vacant by *removal*. It most clearly proves that His Majesty neither consented to nor had in contemplation any idea of a removal. Of this we have not the smallest doubt. It recites that the office *is said to be avoided*. To the idea of removal from any office it is necessary that the person to be removed should be in possession of it, and His Majesty's consent to the appointment of Mr. Wheeler contains a contrary though erroneous supposition that Mr. Hastings was not in possession.

7th.—Besides the papers which you have done us the honour to lay before us for our opinion the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell have been pleased to communicate to us the Minutes of their Proceedings at a Revenue Board assembled this morning and also a copy of a deed under the seal of the Company dated on the 25th March 1774 whereby they confer on Mr. Hastings the command of the Fort and Garrison of Fort William and of all

forces employed in the town of Calcutta. Of the Revenue Board it is almost unnecessary to say that the Proceedings of this morning must be legal if our opinion concerning the Governor-General's right of possession be not erroneous. The Military Commission there would be no occasion to mention, if it were not for an additional argument it affords to show that the Court of Directors could not have considered Mr. Hastings as out of office and General Clavering as then in possession of the Government. For since the Presidents of Fort William formerly, and the present Governor-General have constantly and uniformly received some Military Commission at their appointments or successions to their respective offices, and since the military command conferred on General Clavering by the East India Company in the year 1774 must have been supposed by the Court of Directors to have devolved on Colonel Monson, if they had considered General Clavering as then promoted to the office of Governor-General, it is reasonable to believe that if no such commission has been sent to General Clavering it was omitted only because he was not supposed to be Governor.

Another argument which strikes us most forcibly is that the Court of Directors aided as they are by the best legal advice must have known that if Mr. Hastings had in October last vacated his office of Governor-General, he could have had no legal voice in the Council here and that every act done by the Governor-General and Council from that time to the present to which he was a party might be illegal or at least highly questionable. As the Court of Directors must have supposed him acting in Council all that time, we cannot believe that they would have accepted a resignation to take place on the delivery of Mr. Maclean's letter, which might involve both the property of many individuals and their own affairs in the utmost confusion.

We have given the papers and subject a consideration which has taken up several hours, wishing to deliver such an opinion as from the reasoning of it, not from its authority, might claim weight sufficient to prevent the fatal consequences of a divided Government, but do assure you that none of the time hath been taken up in settling a difference of opinion; there is not one point in which from the first to the last, we have not entirely concurred. We transmit it in strong hopes that it may have that effect, the consideration of which could only have led us to deliver any opinion at all and most ardently praying to God that it may avert the mischiefs which seem to impend over the East India Company and this country.

We have the honour to be,

Your most obedient and very humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM,

Friday, 20th June 1777.

(Signed). { E. IMPEY.
ROBT. CHAMBERS.
S. C. LEMAISTRE.
JOHN HYDE.

P.S.—Herewith according to your desire we return the papers communicated to us.

To SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, Knight, Chief Justice.

No. 3.
Reply of General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to the
Chief Justice, etc.

ROBERT CHAMBERS. }
S. C. LEMAISTRE. } Esqs., Judges of the Supreme Court of Judica-
and JOHN HYDE. } ture.

HON'BLE SIRS,

We are to acknowledge the honor of your letter dated last night and to return you our thanks for the trouble you have taken in considering the papers which we took the liberty of transmitting to you and for the explicit opinion with which you have favored us thereupon.

Having appealed to your judgment and authority we do not hesitate to acquiesce in your unanimous, clear and decided opinion upon the subject of that appeal, and we think it incumbent on us to give you the earliest information of our intentions in this respect that you may be at once relieved from any apprehension which a doubt on this point might suggest to you.

In order to clear and defend as far as may be the several steps taken by us yesterday and not with any view of pursuing those steps or of controverting the arguments contained in your letter, we shall take an early opportunity of stating to you the grounds and reasons on which our opinion was founded, that the office of Governor-General had both in right and fact devolved to General Clavering and we trust that whether they may be sufficient or not to impress on the minds of others the same conviction which they have left on ours, they will appear to have some weight and to deserve some degree of consideration.

We have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sirs,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM,

21st June 1777.

(Signed). { J. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS

No. 4.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to Mr.
Hastings enclosing
the foregoing letter
to the Judges

To The Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, Esquire &c., &c., &c.
Sir,

You are already apprised of our intentions to address a letter to the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature on the subject of the Dispatches received on Thursday last from the Hon'ble Court of Directors. A copy of that letter is in the hands of the Secretary who will lay it before you.

We have this morning received an answer from the Judges of the contents of which we take for granted you are duly apprised by themselves.

We have now the honor to enclose to you a copy of our reply to the Judges that you might have the earliest information of our intention to acquiesce in their opinion on the subject of our appeal to their judgment and authority.

We have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servants,

CALCUTTA,

21st June 1777.

(Signed). { J. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

FORT WILLIAM, 23d June 1777.

To Sir ELIJAH IMPEY, Knight, Chief Justice.

See 5.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to the
Judges.

ROBERT CHAMBERS.
S. C. LEMAISTRE.
and JOHN HYDE. } Esqs., Judges of the Supreme Court of Judica-
ture.

Hon'ble Sirs,

In our letter of the 21st instant we had the honour of informing you that we should take an early opportunity of stating to you the grounds and reasons on which our opinion was founded that the office of Governor-General had both in right and fact devolved to General Clavering.

We now beg leave to enclose to you a copy of a paper which we have drawn up for this purpose and which our justification will oblige us to make as public as we understand the decision has been which you gave against us.

We request that you will consider the arguments stated in this paper with the (*sic*) candour and allowance due to men unversed in the study of the laws and unassisted with any advice whatsoever. A question is now in agitation more interesting to us than any that could affect our lives or fortunes. We shall possibly be accused of having wilfully violated the laws of our country, conviction upon such a charge would be in our minds the loss of character and honor for ever. Next to a strict adherence to the law itself it is our earnest wish to guide our steps by the rules laid down to us by those persons who, not less by their great learning than high station, are the interpreters of the law.

If any thing we have urged in the enclosed paper should appear to you to deserve consideration, we doubt not from your unquestionable candour and justice that you will allow it a due weight even against any part

of the opinion you have already expressed on the subject submitted to your judgment.

We have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sirs,

Your most obedient and most humble servants,

FORT WILLIAM,

23rd June 1777.

(Signed). $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{J. CLAVERING.} \\ \text{P. FRANCIS.} \end{array} \right.$

Minute from General Clavering and Mr. Francis.

No. 6.
Minute, enclosed in
the foregoing
number explain-
ing the grounds
of their conduct
for the acts done
by them the 20th
instant.

Prepared as we are to abide by the consequences of the several steps taken by us on Friday the 20th instant, and adhering to the opinion on which those steps were founded, notwithstanding our subsequent and immediate acquiescence in the judgment of the Chief Justice and Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, the grounds of which we do not take upon us to controvert, we deem it necessary for our present justification, as it may become our future defence, to deliver and record the reasons of our proceeding.

We mean to state briefly the facts as they appeared before us, the positive law under which we act and the conclusion which we draw from a comparison of both.

On Thursday the 19th instant a Dispatch was received from the Hon'ble Court of Directors containing a General Letter dated the 26th of October 1776 and a postscript to it dated the 30th of the same month. In the postscript, which is signed by eighteen of the Directors, the Hon'ble Court of Directors inform us that Colonel Maclean had represented to them by letter "*that he was authorized, empowered and directed to signify to them the desire of Mr. Hastings to resign his office of Governor-General of Bengal and to request their nomination of a successor to the vacancy which would be thereby occasioned in the Council*, that as it appeared from an inspection of the powers with which Mr. Maclean was invested from Mr. Hastings and from collateral testimony that Mr. Maclean was authorized to signify to them Mr. Hastings's desire to resign his office," they had unanimously resolved to accept such resignation, that they had thereupon nominated and appointed Mr. Wheeler to succeed to the office in the Council which *would* become vacant thereby, and had presented a memorial and petition to His Majesty, praying His Majesty's consent to such nomination; that the Secretary of State had signified to them that the King was graciously pleased to approve of their nomination, and that whatever should occur to them as necessary *upon this alteration in the Administration of the Presidency of Bengal* would be communicated to us by their next Dispatch. Copies of Mr. Maclean's letter to the Court of Directors, of their

memorial and petition to the King, and of the letters they received from the Secretary of State, are annexed to the postscript.

On the 19th instant a letter was also received from the Secretary of the Court of Directors dated the 15th of November last, enclosing an attested copy of an instrument under the King's Sign Manual, by which His Majesty *consents to, approves and confirms* the nomination and appointment of Mr. Wheeler to the place and office of Councillor said to be avoided *by the promotion of John Clavering, Esq., to the place and office of Governor-General.*

On the 16th instant a second letter was also received from the Secretary of the Court of Directors dated the 26th November and a third dated the 28th November, by which we are advised of a ballot of the Proprietors of East India Stock, which had taken place on the 26th in consequence of certain Proceedings of a General Court held the 20th of the same month. By those Proceedings and by the terms of the question on which a ballot was demanded it appears that a doubt had been started by some of the Proprietors concerning the validity of Mr. Hastings's resignation. The words of the question are as follow:—

That Mr. Hastings has signified to the Court of Directors his wish to resign, and, as in consequence of such resignation a vacancy will be occasioned in the Council at Fort William in Bengal, it was proper to have the number completed by a new appointment. This question was carried in the affirmative by 318 votes against 63.

We did not for ourselves conceive that the facts stated in the several letters and papers before us, left room for any question concerning the actual vacancy of the office of Governor-General, nor of course of General Clavering's instant right to succeed to it. But since such a question has not only been raised, but a decision in fact given upon it which we presume has encouraged Mr. Hastings to retain possession of the office of Governor-General, and Mr. Barwell to concur with and support him in it, we beg leave to declare the reasons on which our conviction is founded, that the refusal of Mr. Hastings to surrender the place and office of Governor-General to General Clavering is not warranted by law. The question as we conceive is strictly this, whether the several acts done in England first by Mr. Maclean in consequence of certain powers vested in him by Mr. Hastings and *inspected* and admitted by the Court of Directors, "secondly by the Court of Directors themselves, and lastly by His Majesty" do prove and establish the absolute resignation of Mr. Hastings to be completed instantly on the receipt of the advices from England, or whether they imply nothing but the consent of the Court of Directors to an intended resignation to be completed at whatever time he should think fit to carry his supposed

intentions into execution. This question can only be decided by an appeal to that part of the Act of the 13th of his present Majesty in which the case of the avoidance of the office of Governor-General is particularly noticed and provided for. The words of the law are as follow :—

“In case of the avoidance of the Office of such Governor-General by “Death, Resignation or Removal, his Place shall during the remainder of the “Term aforesaid as often as the case shall happen be supplied by the Person of the Council who stands next in Rank to such Governor-General, and in case of the Death, Removal, Resignation or Promotion of any of the said Council, the Directors of the said united Company are hereby empowered for and during the remainder of the said Term of five Years to nominate and appoint by and with the consent of His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors to be signified under his or their Sign Manual a Person to succeed to the Office so become vacant in the said Council.”

In order not to embarrass the question with superfluous matter we admit that the office of Governor-General is not vacated by the death or removal of Mr. Hastings. Supposing removal to mean dismissal, we confine ourselves to his resignation, by which we affirm that such office is now positively vacated. The law makes no provision for an intended or conditional resignation. It does not suppose such a case directly or indirectly. It empowers the Court of Directors and His Majesty to perform certain acts, *in consequence of a resignation* and those acts have been performed. If after the performance of such acts, the resignation were still understood to be optional in the Governor-General, it would follow that the operation of the acts prescribed to be done by the Court of Directors and by His Majesty might be suspended indefinitely or totally defeated; and if such a case had been in the contemplation of the Legislature they would undoubtedly have considered the situation of the appointed successor on his arrival in Bengal, and would have provided for it. They would not have empowered the Court of Directors to appoint a successor to a place, whenever the disposal of it might fall into their hands, by the resignation of the incumbent; or His Majesty to consent to such an appointment by an instrument under his Sign Manual, if such solemn and important acts might be rendered vain and nugatory by the incumbent's retracting his resignation or deferring the execution of it to any period determinable by his own pleasure. The case at least would have been supposed and provided for by the Legislature *which we affirm has not been done*. And if it had been done so, a concurrence of similar cases must also have been supposed, as we believe would rather have been provided for by the penalties due to the grossest imposition, than by any direct or constructive favor to the persons guilty of it. The case we allude to is this. It might have happened that not only the Governor-General but every other

Member of the Council might have empowered their agents in England to signify to the Court of Directors, their desire to resign their respective offices, that the Court of Directors should thereupon have appointed another Governor-General and four Councillors, that such new appointments should have been confirmed by His Majesty's Sign Manual in the live several instances, that the persons so appointed should immediately on the receipt of their appointments have embarked for Bengal, that on their arrival here the Governor and Council in possession should declare that their supposed resignation was intended or conditional, but not absolute, and that it depended on their own discretion at what time they would surrender their respective places to their successors. The same doctrine which is understood to justify Mr. Hastings's present conduct would equally justify the whole Council in the case supposed. The absurdity of the supposition is too glaring to require or admit of illustration.

If the meaning of the law be such as we understand it, it could not as we presume be weakened, altered or qualified by any terms made use of by the Court of Directors in their letter to us or in the form of the instruments drawn up by them or even in the form of the Royal Sign Manual, supposing such terms to imply an intention to do some act different from that act alone which the law empowers them to do, and if the contrary were maintained, it might follow that the terms used in drawing up legal instruments might totally alter the positive provision made by the law and defeat the intention of the Legislature, and this might be done at the pleasure or by the mistake of the persons empowered to draw up such instruments, but we do not admit that such a supposition of any difference whatsoever between the true meaning of the law and the intention of the Court of Directors is warranted by the terms made use of in all or any of the papers or instruments now in question.

First then we take it for granted that Mr. Maclean was empowered to signify to the Court of Directors the desire of Mr. Hastings to resign his office, because the Directors who alone are the competent judges of that point, so far as it relates to the present question, tell us that *they had inspected his powers* and had thereupon *unanimously resolved to accept the resignation*. It will rest with Mr. Maclean and the Court of Directors to answer for their conduct, if either *he* has acted without powers, or *they* have accepted the resignation without sufficient evidence of his possessing such powers. In the question to be decided here, Mr. Maclean's letter is of no consequence whatsoever. It is true the Court of Directors speak of the *vacancy* arising from this resignation in the future tense. But it is equally true that they speak of the *resignation* in the present tense, for they nowhere call it an intended resignation, considering the facts they could not

properly make use of any other form of language. They well know that Mr. Hastings had not quitted Bengal, and they understood that he would contrive to hold and act in the office of Governor-General, until he should be informed of their acceptance of his resignation, but that information could not probably reach him in less than six months from the day on which his resignation was accepted. They could not give Mr. Wheeler the immediate right of possession of a seat which they knew was full and must continue so for six months, but they did appoint him to the seat which they knew *would* be actually vacant, as soon as it might be possible for him to take possession of it, if not some time sooner. This we conceive to be the true and only sense in which all the terms whether in the Court of Directors' letters to us or in their memorial to His Majesty or in their Commission to Mr. Wheeler, which refer to a *future* vacancy in the Council, must be understood.

If the words *a desire to resign* formally signified to the persons empowered by law to accept such resignation and to fill up the consequent vacancy do not signify a real resignation they may be construed into any other sense; they may then be understood to imply an unlimited power of continuing in possession. It is sufficient for us, however, that the Court of Directors understood the words as a real resignation and unanimously accepted it accordingly; unless it should be asserted that the Court of Directors meant to accept an *intention* only which might be changed the next moment and reduced to nothing. But they not only accept the resignation, but they perform those acts, which by law could only be done in consequence of an absolute resignation. In their memorial to the King they say that Warren Hastings *had caused* notice to be given to them of his desire to resign his office, and they nominate and appoint another person to succeed to the office which *will* become vacant by the aforesaid resignation.

The same assertion is repeated and the same form of appointment to an office, *which shall become vacant by the said resignation* is observed in Mr. Wheeler's Commission; and admitting the resignation to be absolute in our sense of it, such Commission could not possibly be drawn up in any other form, for, if it had, it would have appointed Mr. Wheeler to a place which was full, and then there might have existed a Governor-General and five Councillors for Bengal at the same moment of time. The place was full and continued so till Thursday last, on that day we conceive it became vacant, and is or ought to be open to Mr. Wheeler. The Directors therefore speak with precision when they say the place will become vacant. But if such vacancy is to depend on Mr. Hastings's present resolutions, he may resolve to continue in office till the end of the five years limited by Parliament, and

then the place which the Directors say *will* become vacant, *never* will become vacant. In the meantime a successor to Colonel Monson may arrive in Bengal and take his seat at the Board and Mr. Wheeler though appointed before him may either be disappointed entirely or take rank under a person whose appointment is later than his own.

The shortness of time as the Court of Directors expressly tell us would not then permit them to write more at large, but they promise to communicate to us by the next Dispatch whatever should occur to them as necessary upon *this alteration in the Administration of this Presidency*. We shall not, therefore, for the present dispute the force of any arguments drawn from their not having then been able to prepare and send out the formal Commissions to General Clavering, as Governor of the Fort, and to Colonel Monson as Commander-in-Chief, because we expect that the first Dispatch received from the Court of Directors will contain an answer of fact to all such arguments; at the same time we do not mean to admit that the rights vested in General Clavering by law can be affected by any delay of the Court of Directors to send out those Commissions or even by their resolutions not to send them at all.

We have never affirmed that Mr. Hastings did vacate his office in October last, much less have we contended that any act done by the Governor-General and Council from that time to the present, to which he was a party, might be illegal or in any degree questionable. This is not the question. But we doubt not it will hereafter be very serious one to him whether any acts done by him as Governor-General from the time when the Court of Directors' letters were received are equally free from exception, and whether this whole transaction will not be considered by that power which alone can take cognizance of it, as the grossest insult to the authority of the Company of the Court of Directors, and of the Legislature, as well as to the dignity of the King.

Having done everything that depended on us to assert the right, which we conceived had legally devolved on General Clavering, as far as could be effected without violent measures, the idea of which could never present itself to us without honor, we shall leave it to Mr. Hastings to continue, as he declared himself resolved, to assert and maintain the authority reposed in him under his appointment by Act of Parliament and to answer for it at his peril.

(Signed). { J. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

FORT WILLIAM,

23rd June 1777.

TO THE JUDGES.

HON'BLE SIRs,

No. 7.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis.

When we had the honor of submitting the papers received from the Court of Directors to your consideration we were determined to yield implicitly to your decision, whatever it might be, and we understood that the same intention was professed by Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell. Accordingly on the receipt of the letter with which you favoured us, we informed you without the loss of a moment of our instant acquiescence and at the same time wrote to Mr. Hastings to acquaint him with our resolution. We conceived that the situation in which your decision placed us, was the same in which we stood before the receipt of the advices from England and we doubt not that you yourselves understood that this was to be the effect of your decision. We have now the honor to send you an exact copy of a letter which General Clavering has this day received from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue. You will perceive by this letter that the Board have declared the places and offices lately held by General Clavering of Senior Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India to be vacant, but they have not yet communicated to either of us the Proceedings on which this extraordinary declaration is founded. We do not presume to suggest to you any observations on the illegality of this act. You know the tenure by which we hold our places under an Act of Parliament, and the means by which alone they can be lawfully avoided. But there are some circumstances belonging to the fact of which we ought to apprise you leaving it to you to consider what weight they may deserve. Mr. Francis, whose place is not pretended to be vacated, received no summons to attend the Board and did not know till very late in the day and then only by report that any Board had been assembled. Though entitled as a Member of the Council to see the Proceedings, they have not yet been communicated to him as usual by the Secretary, notwithstanding the extraordinary importance of the resolutions which appear to have been taken in his absence. It is further to be observed that General Clavering's Commission as Commander-in-Chief comprehends all the Company's Forces at the other Presidencies, over which the Governor-General and Council of Fort William have no direct authority. You will judge whether such a Commission can be vacated in all its parts by any resolution of this Council.

We are persuaded that the uncommon importance of this case with all the consequences that may attend it, will immediately engage your attention, and that if any means should occur to you to remedy the injustice done to

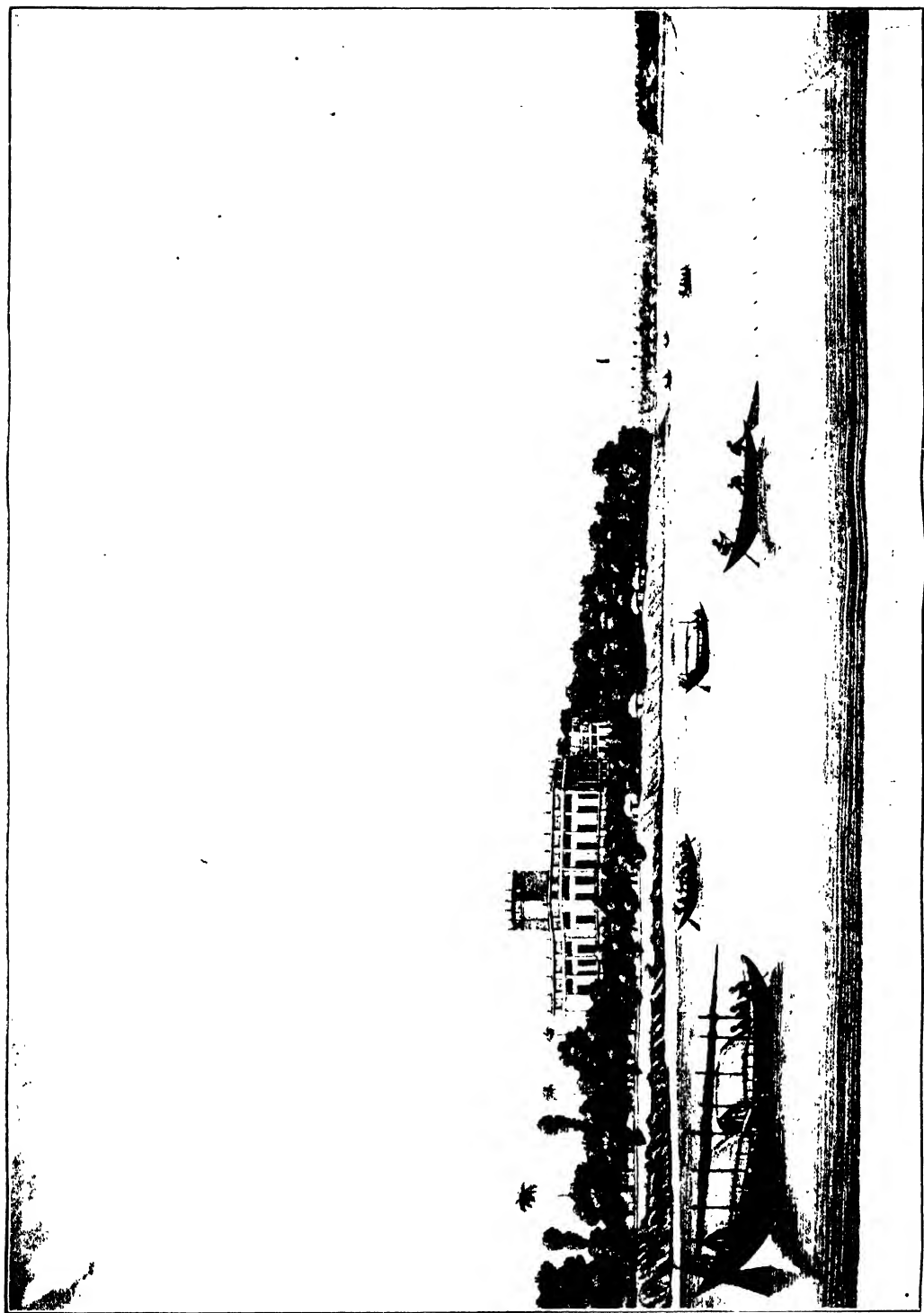


FORT OF JAL LAL GARH. EXTERIOR. S. E. BASTION.



FORT JAL LAL GARH. INTERIOR. N. E. BASTION.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.



By Moffat.

Kindly lent for Reproduction by Mr. W. P. Harris.

General Clavering, and to prevent the consequences of that injustice, as they may most materially affect the Public Service, at the present critical conjuncture, you will not be less ready to propose them on the present occasion than you were to interpose your judgment and authority in the former instance at the request of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell.

We who have already given you the strongest proof of your deference to your judgment and authority need hardly repeat our assurance to you that we shall continue to be guided by them.

We have, &c.,

(Signed). { JNO. CLAVERING.
PHILIP FRANCIS.

TO LIEUT.-GENERAL JOHN CLAVERING.

No. 8.
Letter from Mr. Secretary Sumner declaring General Clavering's offices vacant.

Sir,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the Governor-General and Council to notify to you that the Board have declared the places and offices lately held by you of Senior Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India to be vacant, and have directed me to furnish you with a complete copy of their Proceedings containing the grounds of the Board for the aforesaid declaration.

I have, &c.,

REVENUE DEPT.;
FORT WILLIAM,
23rd June 1777.

(Signed). RICHD. SUMNER,
Secretary.

TO GENERAL CLAVERING AND MR. FRANCIS.

Gentlemen,

No. 9.
Letter from the Chief Justice, etc., to General Clavering and Mr. Francis enclosing number 10.

In consequence of the letter you honored us with desiring us to use such means as might occur to us to remedy what you complained of as an injustice done to General Clavering, we have endeavoured, as far as in us lies, to procure from the Governor-General and Council a repeal of their declaration of which you were informed by the letter from Mr. Sumner and for that purpose have transmitted to them a letter, a copy of which we enclose to you and beg leave to refer you for our opinion to that copy.

Though we shall ever be sorry for the occasion, we shall always be happy, when we can reconcile disputes by which we conceive the public peace and good order of Government may be affected.

We have the honour, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,
24th June 1777.

(Signed). { E. IMPEY.
RT. CHAMBERS.
S. E. LEMAISTRE.
JNO HYDE.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General and Gentlemen of the Council.

No. 10.
Letter from the
Chief Justice, etc.,
to the Governor-
General and Coun-
cil.

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Early this morning we received a letter from General Clavering and Mr. Francis, informing us of your resolution of yesterday that the places and offices held by General Clavering of Senior Councillor of the Presidency of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces in India were vacant, and desiring us to point out any means that might occur to us to remedy that which they conceived to be an injustice done to General Clavering. We assure ourselves that the uncommon importance of this case with all its possible consequences will sufficiently apologize for our immediate interference by our opinion and advice, and we venture to hope that although we have received no application from you, yet as on a late important occasion General Clavering and Mr. Francis acquiesced implicitly in our opinion given at your desire, we may be honored with equal attention, on your part, when at their request we deliver our sentiments on an event, which we consider as part of the same transaction.

We cannot be of opinion (except perhaps in the case of legal conviction of certain crimes) that your Hon'ble Board can by its authority, either remove any Member from the Council or declare his seat to be vacant. The advice which upon this occasion we wish to submit to you is that you would recede from putting in execution those resolutions which can in anywise prevent the General from the full and immediate exercise of his several offices of Senior Councillor of this Presidency and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces; and that all parties be placed in the same situation in which they stood before the receipt of the last advices from England reserving and submitting to a decision in England, the respective claims that each party may conceive they have a right to make, but not acting upon these claims until such decision shall arrive in Bengal.

We have, &c.,

FORT WILLIAM,

24th June 1777.

(Signed). { E. IMPEY.
RT. CHAMBERS.
S. E. LEMAISTRE.
JNO. HYDE.

TO GENERAL CLAVERING AND PHILIP FRANCIS, ESQ.

No. 11.
Letter from Mr. Has-
tings and Mr. Bar-
well to General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis.

Gentlemen,

We have the honor to send you copy of a letter which we have separately written to the Judges in answer to theirs addressed to the Governor General and Council.

We repeat to you our resolution to conform implicitly to their advice. The Governor-General has accordingly directed the Secretary of the Revenue Department to send the usual summons for the assembly of the Board to-morrow morning at the Revenue Council House, where we hope to be again honored with the presence of General Clavering.

We have the honour, &c.,

BELVIDERE,

24th June 1777.

(Signed). { WARREN HASTINGS.
RICHD. BARWELL.

No. 12.

Letter from Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell to the Chief Justice, etc., declaring they will acquiesce to their opinion enclosed in the foregoing number.

TO THE HON'BLE SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, KT.,

Chief Justice, and the other Members of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William.

Hon'ble Sirs,

We have had the honor to receive your letter of this date addressed to the Governor-General and Council which we have instantly forwarded to General Clavering and Mr. Francis.

As parties united in the subject which furnished the occasion to it, we think it proper in this separate reply to give you the speediest information of its effect in our conduct.

As we on a former reference declared our resolution to yield implicitly to your decision, we do now in like manner most cheerfully and without hesitation assure you that we shall as implicitly conform to your advice now given us regarding it as legal authority, by receding from all those resolutions which can in any wise prevent the General from the full and immediate exercise of his several offices of Senior Councillor of this Presidency and Commander-in-Chief of the Company's Forces, by consenting that all parties be placed in the same situation in which they stood before the receipt of the last advice from England reserving and submitting our claim to a decision in England, but not acting upon those claims until such decision shall arrive in Bengal.

As the resolutions we had taken during the separation of General Clavering and Mr. Francis from our Council were the result of their acts and of the fullest conviction operating on our minds, both of their obligation to us and of the legal incompetency of any powers vested in the Board, or in any individual members of it to retract them, and as in adopting those resolutions we yielded to the sole impulse of our sense of public duty in repugnance to our personal feeling, we are happy that your interposition has freed us from so painful a necessity and most sincerely wish that it will prove the means of restoring that peace and harmony to the Government which have been broken by the past transactions.

This determination we shall without delay impart to the other Members of our Council and shall propose to meet them to-morrow morning in Council on the footing which you have recommended.

BELVEDERE,

24th June 1777.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General AND RICHARD BARWELL, ESQ.

GENTLEMEN,

We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated this evening, enclosing a copy of one which you inform us you had separately written to the Judges and repeating to us your resolution to conform implicitly to their advice, understanding hereby that you mean to recede from your resolution of yesterday and that all parties are to be placed in the state in which they were before the receipt of the last advices from England, the claims of each being reserved, General Clavering means under this idea to do himself the honor of attending his duty in Council to-morrow in compliance with the summons he has this evening received from the Governor-General.

FORT WILLIAM,

24th June 1777.

We have the honor, &c.

(Signed). { JNO. CLAVERING.
P. FRANCIS.

I. THE COURT OF DIRECTORS' MEMORIAL TO THE KING.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

The Memorial and Petition of the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

MOST HUMBLY SHEW,

That by an Act of Parliament made in the Thirteenth Year of Your Majesty's Reign, intituled "An Act for Establishing certain Regulations for the better Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe." it was (amongst other things) enacted, that for the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, there should be appointed a Governor-General and four Councillors and that the whole civil and military Government of the said Presidency, and also the ordering, management, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the Kingdoms of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, should, during such time as the territorial acquisitions and revenues should remain in the possession of the said United Company, be and were thereby vested in the said Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal in like manner to all intents and purposes whatsoever, as the same then were or at any time theretofore might have been, exercised by the President and Council or Select Committee in the said Kingdoms; And it was thereby further enacted, that the said Governor-General and Council or the Major part of them should have and they were thereby authorized to have power of superintending and controlling the Government and Management of the Presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bencoolen respectively so far and in so much as that it should not be lawful for any President and Council of

No. 13.
Letter from General
Clavering and Mr.
Francis to Mr.
Hastings and Mr.
Barwell.

Madras, Bombay or Bencoolen, for the time being, to make any orders for commencing hostilities, or declaring or making war against any Indian Princes or Powers or for negotiating or concluding any treaty or peace with such Indian Princes or Powers without the consent and approbation of the said Governor-General and Council, first had and obtained except in certain cases in the said Act mentioned: And it was thereby further enacted that Warren Hastings, Esqr. should be the first Governor-General and that Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honourable George Monson, Richard Barwell, Esquire, and Philip Francis, Esquire should be the first four Councillors: And that they and each of them should hold and continue in his and their respective offices, for and during the term of five years from the time of their arrival at Fort William in Bengal, and taking upon them the Government of the said Presidency, and should not be removeable in the meantime, except by your Majesty upon representation made by the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being, and in case of the avoidance of the office of such Governor-General by death, resignation, or removal, his place should during the remainder of the term aforesaid as often as the case should happen, be supplied by the person of the Council who stood next in rank to such Governor-General and in case of the death, removal, resignation, or promotion of any of the said Council, the Directors of the said United Company were thereby empowered for and during the remainder of the said term of five years, to nominate and appoint, by and with the consent of Your Majesty, to be signified under your Majesty's Sign Manual, a person to succeed to the office so become vacant in the said Council.

That at the time of passing the said Act, the said Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell were in Bengal, and the said John Clavering, George Monson and Philip Francis were in England.

That the said John Clavering, George Monson and Philip Francis, arrived at Fort William in Bengal, aforesaid on or about the twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and seventy four, and thereupon they, and the said Warren Hastings and Richard Barwell took upon them the respective offices of Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency to which they were appointed by the said Act of Parliament as aforesaid.

That the said Warren Hastings hath caused notice to be given to your Petitioners the Court of Directors of the said Company, of his desire to resign the said office of Governor-General of Bengal.

That Your Petitioners the Court of Directors taking the said proposed resignation of the said Warren Hastings into consideration, have nominated and appointed Edward Wheler, Esquire, to succeed to the office of the said Council, which will become vacant by the said resignation, if such nomination shall be approved by your Majesty.

Your Petitioners therefore most humbly pray that your Majesty will be pleased to signify such consent by your Majesty's Sign Manual as by the said Act is required, that said Edward Wheler may be appointed to succeed to the office, which will become vacant in the Council, by the aforesaid resignation of the said Warren Hastings.

And Your Petitioners shall ever pray.

James Moffat.
Samuel Peach
Frederick Pigon.
Thos. Bates Rous.
Thos. Rumbold.
Henry Savage.
Joseph Sparkes.
John Stables.
George Tatem.
Daniel Wier.
George Wombwell.

John Roberts.
William James.
Richard Beacher.
Benjamin Booth.
George Cumming.
Wm. Geo. Freeman
Robert Gregory.
Richard Hall.
John Harrison.
John Manship.

EAST INDIA HOUSE,
23rd October 1776.

ST. JAME'S
25th October, 1776.

2. REPLY TO THE MEMORIAL.

GENTLEMEN,

Having taken the earliest opportunity of laying before the King your memorial, and petition to His Majesty, which was presented to me yesterday by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of your Company, I lose no time in acquainting you, that the King is graciously pleased to approve of your nomination of Edward Wheler, Esqr. to succeed to the office which will become vacant in the Council of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in consequence of the resignation of Warren Hastings, Esqr., Governor-General. And the proper instrument of His Majesty's approbation will be prepared accordingly for the royal signature.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
WEYMOUTH.

Court of Directors of the
East India Company.

3. EDWARD WHEELER'S SURRENDER OF THE FIRST COMMISSION.

Whereas by an Act of Parliament made in the thirteenth year of the reign of his present Majesty entitled "An Act for establishing certain Regulations for the better management of the Affairs of the East India Company as well in India as in Europe."—It was amongst other things, enacted that for the Government of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal there should be appointed a Governor-General and four Councillors who were thereby invested with such powers and authorities as in the said Act are mentioned. And it was thereby further enacted that Warren Hastings, Esquire should be first Governor-General and that Lieutenant-General John Clavering, the Honorable George Monson, Richard Barwell Esquire and Philip Francis Esquire should be the four first Councillors and that they and each of them should hold and continue in his and their respective offices for and during the term of five years from the time of their arrival at Fort William in Bengal and taking upon them the Government of the said Presidency and should not be removeable in the meantime except by His Majesty, his heirs or successors upon representation made by the Court of Directors of the said United Company for the time being and in case of the avoidance of the office of such Governor-General by death, resignation or removal, his place should during the remainder of the term aforesaid as often as the case should happen be supplied by the person of the Council who stood next in rank to such Governor-General and in case of the death, removal, resignation or promotion of any of the Council the Directors of the said United Company were thereby empowered for and during the remainder of the said term of five years to nominate and appoint by and with the consent of His Majesty, his heirs, and successor to be signed under His or their Sign Manual a person to succeed to the office so become vacant in the said Council. And Whereas the said Warren Hastings, John Clavering, George Monson, Richard Barwell and Philip Francis took upon them the respective offices of Governor-General and Council of the said Presidency to which they were appointed by the said Act of Parliament as aforesaid on or about the twentieth day of October one thousand seven hundred and seventy four. And Whereas the said Warren Hastings sometime in or about the month of October last caused notice to be given to the said United Company that he desired to resign the said office of Governor-General of Bengal, and thereupon the Court of Directors of the said United Company by Warrant or Commission under the hands bearing date the twenty third day of the said month of October appointed me the underwritten Edward Wheler, Esquire to be one of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to take upon me, hold and enjoy the said office with the salary thereto belonging from and immediately after the office of one of the Council of the said Presidency of Bengal should become vacant by the resignation of the said Warren Hastings which said appointment His most gracious Majesty by Warrant under His Majesty's Sign Manual bearing

date the twenty sixth day of October aforesaid was pleased to approve and confirm. And Whereas the Court of Directors of the said United Company hath received notice that the said George Monson is dead, but no notice hath yet been received of the said Warren Hastings having resigned. And Whereas it is intended that I should be appointed to succeed to the vacancy in the said Council which hath happened by the death of the said George Monson instead of taking upon me the said office of one of the Councillors of the said Presidency to supply the vacancy which shall happen in the said Council by the resignation of the said Warren Hastings, but such new appointment cannot take place until the said former appointment of me to be one of the said Council is surrendered or revoked. Now therefore I the said Edward Wheeler do hereby resign, surrender and yield up unto the said United Company the said Warrant or Commission bearing date the twenty third day of October last and the said office of one of the Council of the said Presidency of Fort William in Bengal to which I was thereby appointed; and all my estate, right, title and interest in and to the said office by virtue of the said Warrant or Commission or by virtue of His Majesty's Sign Manual approving of and confirming the same or otherwise howsoever. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the second day of May in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seven.

Sealed and delivered (being first duly stamped) in the presence of

JOHN SUTTON
R. O. PLOWDEN
East India House London
the 3rd May 1777
Attested to be a true copy
C. MITCHELL, Secy.

EDWARD WHEELER (L. S.)

L'Episode du "Black Hole"

Histoire ou légende.

L'EPOUVANTABLE épisode du "Trou Noir" à Calcutta, dans la nuit du 20 Juin 1756, serait-il, comme la révolte héroïque de Guillaume Tell contre Gessler, une simple légende que l'histoire est en train de détruire ?

On connaît l'affaire. Dans la matinée du 20 Juin 1756, Siradja-Doula, Nabab du Bengale, s'empara du fort William à Calcutta. Le Gouverneur, M. Drake, s'était sauvé l'avant veille à Fulta, sur l'Hougly, avec une partie des Anglais de la ville ; les autres, n'ayant pu le faire, avaient dû soit rester dans le fort soit y revenir. M. Holwell en avait la défense. Le 20 Juin, vers onze heures du matin, il capitula. Dans l'après-midi, il eut trois conférences avec Siradja-Doula sur des sujets restés mystérieux, probablement la livraison des trésors présumés de la Compagnie des Indes. Le soir, les officiers de Siradja-Doula renfermèrent les survivants, au nombre de 169, dans une prison dite "Black Hole" ou trou noir. La prison n'avait que dix-huit pieds sur quatorze ; la chaleur était suffocante, 143 personnes moururent durant la nuit. M. Holwell n'était pas au nombre des morts. Transféré à Murschidabad, il fut rendu à la liberté vers le 10 Juillet. Mais déjà il avait répandu la nouvelle de la nuit tragique par une lettre adressée de Cassimbazar à un nommé Sykes, serviteur de la Compagnie. Plus tard, il fit un récit plus détaillé du drame. Le récit fut publié en 1764. L'impression produite par ces révélations est une des plus lugubres de l'histoire.

Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, à part les Bengalis, personne n'a mis en doute l'authenticité des faits rapportés par M. Holwell. Mais, en Septembre dernier, paraissait dans le *Bengal Past and Present*, organe de la société historique de Calcutta, un long article, dans lequel un anglais M. Little, habitant Murschidabad, a prétendu démontrer que, s'il y eut des prisonniers anglais enfermés dans le Black Hole le 20 Juin 1756, leur nombre fut seulement de neuf, et le chiffre des morts de trois.

Pour justifier son opinion, M. Little essaie d'abord d'établir que M. Holwell, d'après Clive lui-même et les autres directeurs de la Compagnie des Indes de cette époque, était un coutumier de l'erreur sinon du mensonge. En dehors de l'épisode du Trou Noir, il aurait inventé de toutes pièces des conversations ou des actes tout à fait erronés. L'incident du Trou Noir n'aurait été, selon M. Little, imaginé par M. Holwell que pour le disculper d'une tricherie faite par lui le 20 Juin dans la capitulation avec Siradja-Doula

M. Holwell, pour un motif difficile à saisir, aurait négligé de porter cette capitulation à la connaissance de ses compatriotes. Lorsque les soldats de Siradja-Doula vinrent pour prendre possession du fort, ils rencontrèrent une résistance inattendue ; on continua de tirer sur eux. Furieux, ils tirèrent à leur tour sur les Anglais et en tuèrent un grand nombre. Ce seraient là les victimes du Trou Noir. Les témoins de sa tricherie ayant ainsi disparu, M. Holwell, rendu à la liberté quinze jours ou trois semaines plus tard, aurait imaginé l'histoire que l'on connaît et dont l'horreur fut rarement dépassée.

L'article de M. Little a produit dans l'Inde une émotion considérable. Les journaux du Bengale, notamment *l'Englishman* et le *Statesman* l'ont longuement et vivement commenté. M. Little a trouvé beaucoup de contradicteurs. On lui a opposé l'existence même de quelques survivants du Trou Noir qui ne seraient morts qu'après 1800 et même le dernier d'entre eux, en 1815. On a aussi cité quelques lettres de contemporains de M. Holwell, dont l'un aurait partagé sa dramatique captivité. On a invoqué aussi l'opinion de Law de Lauriston, ancien chef français de Cassimbazar, qui écrivit en 1764 dans son *Mémoire sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol*, publié par nous en 1913, un récit terrifiant du drame de Calcutta.

M. Little oppose à ces témoignages l'absence totale de documentation officielle sur cet incident, au moment où il se produisit. Ni les Anglais chassés de Calcutta, ni les Français de Chandernagor, ni les Hollandais d'Hougly n'ont rien écrit qui fasse la moindre allusion à la nuit tragique, et cependant tous ont raconté la prise du fort William. Il reconnaît au surplus que la déformation historique s'est faite avec une grande rapidité. Il semble qu'elle ait précédé la libération même de M. Holwell. Préparée par lui dans la lettre adressée à Sykes elle se confirme dès le 3 juillet par une lettre envoyée de Chandernagor par des Anglais non témoins directs des événements ; trois mois plus tard elle avait la valeur d'un fait historique.

Si grand que soit l'intérêt de la question, nous ne pouvons y consacrer ici qu'une place très restreinte : l'affaire du Trou Noir appartient à l'histoire anglaise. Mais, puisque M. Little a invoqué l'absence de témoignages français dans la matière, il nous a paru intéressant de consulter à cet égard les archives de Pondichéry, les seules actuellement à notre disposition.

Nous avons à cet égard, dans les registres 90 et 91 de nos archives, une série de lettres allant de 1744 à 1757 écrites soit par le Conseil de Pondichéry à celui de Chandernagor, soit par ce dernier à différentes personnes. Ces lettres ne sont malheureusement pas au complet ; nous en avons néanmoins trouvé cinq, dont deux d'une très grande importance.

Elles émanent toutes de la même source, le Conseil Supérieur de Chandernagor, mais, singulière ironie des choses, l'une d'elles soutient la théorie de M. Little et l'autre, le contraire.

Dans une première lettre, datée du 25 Juin, et adressée au comptoir de Masulipatam, M. Renault, chef du comptoir de Chandernagor, rend compte que Siradja-Doula est en guerre avec les Anglais ; il est arrivé à Calcutta dont il fait le siège avec 50,000 hommes, une grande quantité d'éléphants et une grosse artillerie. L'issue de la lutte n'est pas encore connue, mais M. Renault prévoit la défaite des Anglais et leur expulsion. La lettre de M. Renault n'accuse d'ailleurs aucune sympathie pour Siradja-Doula.

Le lendemain, M. Renault connaît la fin du drame, et voici en quels termes il l'annonce en une nouvelle lettre au comptoir de Masulipatam.

" (Les Anglais) avaient eu la précaution, dès le commencement du siège, qui n'a pas été long, de faire embarquer les femmes des employés et des principaux.....ce qui fait croire que ces vaisseaux n'aient beaucoup à pâtir d'ici à ce qu'ils puissent sortir du Gange et gagner la côte. Le Nabab n'a fait aucun mal à ceux qui étaient dans la loge, lorsqu'il s'en est emparé. Il s'est contenté de les faire dépouiller et les a renvoyés, à la réserve des principaux qu'il a fait prisonniers."

Notons soigneusement cette lettre, écrite au lendemain même des événements. Non seulement M. Renault ignore l'affaire du "Black Hole" mais il écrit tranquillement que *le Nabab n'a fait aucun mal à ceux qui étaient dans la loge.*

Ainsi se trouve confirmée la thèse de M. Little.

Dans une autre lettre du 29 Août, également adressée à Masulipatam, et qui paraît faire suite à celle du 26 Juin, M. Renault paraît encore ignorer l'affaire du "Black Hole."

"Il ne s'est passé, dit-il, aucun événement considérable dans le pays depuis la prise de Calcutta, et les Anglais n'ont fait encore aucun mouvement. Tous ceux qui avaient été faits prisonniers ont été renvoyés par le Nabab, et ont joint leurs vaisseaux. Il leur est venu plusieurs embarcations de la côte, mais dans le nombre desquels il n'y a qu'un vaisseau de la compagnie qui a apporté 250 soldats de Madras.

"Il y a peu d'apparence qu'avec un aussi faible renfort, ils tentent quelque entreprise, étant surtout dénués d'une grande partie de ce qu'il leur faudrait pour cela. Le bruit a couru pendant quelque temps qu'ils cherchaient à s'accommoder avec le Nabab pour rentrer dans leur colonie, mais cela n'a pas eu lieu. On dit à présent que les vaisseaux de guerre se sont rendus à Madras et qu'il s'y rassemble beaucoup de forces pour venir venger l'affront fait à la nation,"

Nous sommes au 29 Août. M. Renault ne voit encore dans la prise de Calcutta qu'un *affront* fait aux Anglais ; d'après les bruits courants, les Anglais se considèrent si peu comme les victimes d'un crime abominable qu'ils songent à s'accommoder avec le Nabab.

L'opinion de M. Renault est toute différente le 16 Septembre, moins de trois semaines plus tard. Dans une lettre adressée ce jour là à M. Le Verrier, Chef du comptoir de Surate, il lui raconte les évènements depuis leur origine.

"Lorsque, dit-il, nous vous avons expédié nos paquets pour Europe en Juillet dernier, nous étions si occupés qu'il ne nous a pas été possible de vous faire le moindre détail de la révolution que nous vous annonçons et dont le récit faisait le sujet de notre expédition.

Vous apprendrez donc par celle-ci que le Nabab Souradja-Doula ayant, contre l'attente de tout le monde, succédé dans la soubabie de Bengale à son grand oncle Aliverdi-Khan dès le mois d'Avril, les Anglais ont éprouvé les plus terribles effets de la colère de ce jeune seigneur qu'ils avaient irrité par leur arrogance et par la retraite qu'ils avaient accordée à quelques uns de ses ennemis.

Poussé par leurs bravades, il les a investis dans leur fort de Cassimbazard avec beaucoup de troupes et après avoir tiré dehors leur chef (M. Watts) s'est fait livrer cette loge qui, quoique forte, n'était défendue que par un très petit nombre de soldats. Enhardi par ce succès, dont il ne se flattait peut-être pas dans le principe, il a fait défilier son armée en bataille et est venu assiéger cette place le 18 Juin avec 60,000 hommes, une artillerie immense et beaucoup d'éléphants.

La vanité des Anglais leur ayant fait croire que les Maures n'oseraient jamais en venir jusque là, ils se sont trouvés tellement surpris et intimidés qu'ils ont perdu la tête à la vue de l'ennemi et n'ont profité d'aucun des avantages qu'ont les Européens sur des troupes aussi méprisables. Quoique bien fortifiés et au nombre de 600 blancs, à peine ont-ils fait la plus légère résistance. Dès le lendemain de l'arrivée du Nabab (le 19), le Gouverneur M. Drake s'est retiré à bord des vaisseaux avec le commandant des troupes, la plus grande partie du conseil, des officiers, habitants et toutes les femmes. Le peu de soldats qui étaient restés dans le fort n'ayant voulu reconnaître aucun supérieur, le désordre s'y mit au point qu'on a arboré drapeau blanc le 20 après midi. Mais les Maures n'ayant point voulu convenir comme de capitulation, se sont jetés en foule aux portes et sont entrés de force en faisant main basse sur ceux qui résistaient encore. Le pillage tant de la colonie que de la loge a été immense : les Anglais n'ayant point eu la précaution d'embarquer toutes leurs richesses.

Ce n'était là pour ainsi dire que le commencement de leurs maux. Les prisonniers, montant à près de 200 ayant été renfermés pêle-mêle dans un magasin y ont été étouffés presque tous dans la nuit. Ceux qui ont résisté, surtout les principaux, après avoir éprouvé toute sorte de misère et avoir été traînés aux fers à Mounoudabad, nous ont été renvoyés par le Nabab dans

l'état le plus triste, état que nous avons tâché d'adoucir par tous les secours possible.

Le sort de ceux qui s'étaient sauvés dans les vaisseaux n'a pas été moins fâcheux. Après avoir gagné le bas de la rivière, avec toute les peines du monde, ils y ont essuyé tous les mauvais temps de la saison et tous les embarras d'une multitude de femmes et d'enfants dont les navires étaient surchargés, ce qui joint aux mauvais vivres qu'ils se procuraient même très difficilement, y a causé une espèce de maladie pestilentielle qui en emporte beaucoup tous les jours. Plusieurs sont venus chercher des secours ici et à Chinsura, mais très peu s'y sont rétablis."

Une lettre, conçue exactement dans les mêmes termes, fut envoyée au Conseil de l'Ile de France, le 16 Décembre suivant.

Ces documents suffisent-ils pour porter sur l'affaire du Black Hole un jugement décisif ? Nous ne le croyons pas.

Comme M. Little, nous sommes au premier abord surpris qu'un événement aussi extraordinaire et aussi terrifiant n'ait pas été connu tout de suite de l'opinion publique et d'autre part il est difficile d'admettre qu'on ait pu créer si rapidement une pareille légende. Que M. Holwell et les Anglais l'aient acceptée sans discussion et propagée avec complaisance, il n'y a rien d'étonnant à cela, elle servait leurs intérêts ; mais pour que des étrangers aient été aussi crédules, il faudrait admettre que leur haine pour Siraja-Doula ait étouffé en eux tout esprit de critique. Aucune de ces suppositions n'est impossible. En 1756 les Français de Chandernagor considéraient encore que leurs intérêts étaient solidaires de ceux des Anglais et leur crainte de Siradja-Doula, entretenue par le récit de ses cruautés de jeune prince, dominait tous leurs jugements.

Nous considérerons donc jusqu'à nouvel ordre le problème soulevé par M. Little comme non encore résolu, mais nous sommes loin de considérer ses arguments comme sans valeur. L'Inde, chacun le sait, est le pays où la vérité se déforme avec le plus d'aisance et de rapidité. Nous en trouvons chaque jour des exemples dans notre propre administration. Il faut aussi reconnaître, en toute équité, que la cruauté n'est pas le propre des Indous et rien n'autorise à penser qu'ils aient poursuivi dans cette circonstance la vengeance d'une offense particulière. Siradja-Doula, tout le monde est d'accord sur ce point, n'a pas donné des ordres pour enfermer les Anglais ni pour les faire périr d'une façon si brutale ; pourquoi ses officiers auraient-ils été plus cruels ? Du point de vue psychologique, cela n'apparaît pas.

On nous dira peut-être que sept ans plus tard, à Patna, le Nabab détrôné Mir-Cassim fit tuer beaucoup d'Anglais dans des conditions plus cruelles encore ; mais Mir-Cassim avait de légitimes raisons de hair les Anglais et de vouloir se venger d'eux. Et rien ne nous dit au surplus qu'en

les massacrant, il n'ait pas voulu délibérément transformer l'affaire du Black Hole en une saisissante réalité.

Il ne faut point demander à l'histoire de se mettre au service des passions. M. Holwell dort dans le cimetière de Pinner depuis 1798 ; il a sa statue à Calcutta. Respectons sa tombe. Quant à sa mémoire, s'il devait jamais être établi d'une manière indiscutable que l'incident du Trou Noir a été fort exagéré, on ne devra pas oublier que, suivant les documents officiels publiés par M. Hill dans son *Bengal*, les Anglais se défendirent vaillamment contre Siradja-Doula le 20 Juin jusqu'à six heures du soir et qu'un très grand nombre succombèrent dans la lutte.

A défaut de légende, cela suffirait encore à leur gloire.

A. MARTINEAU.

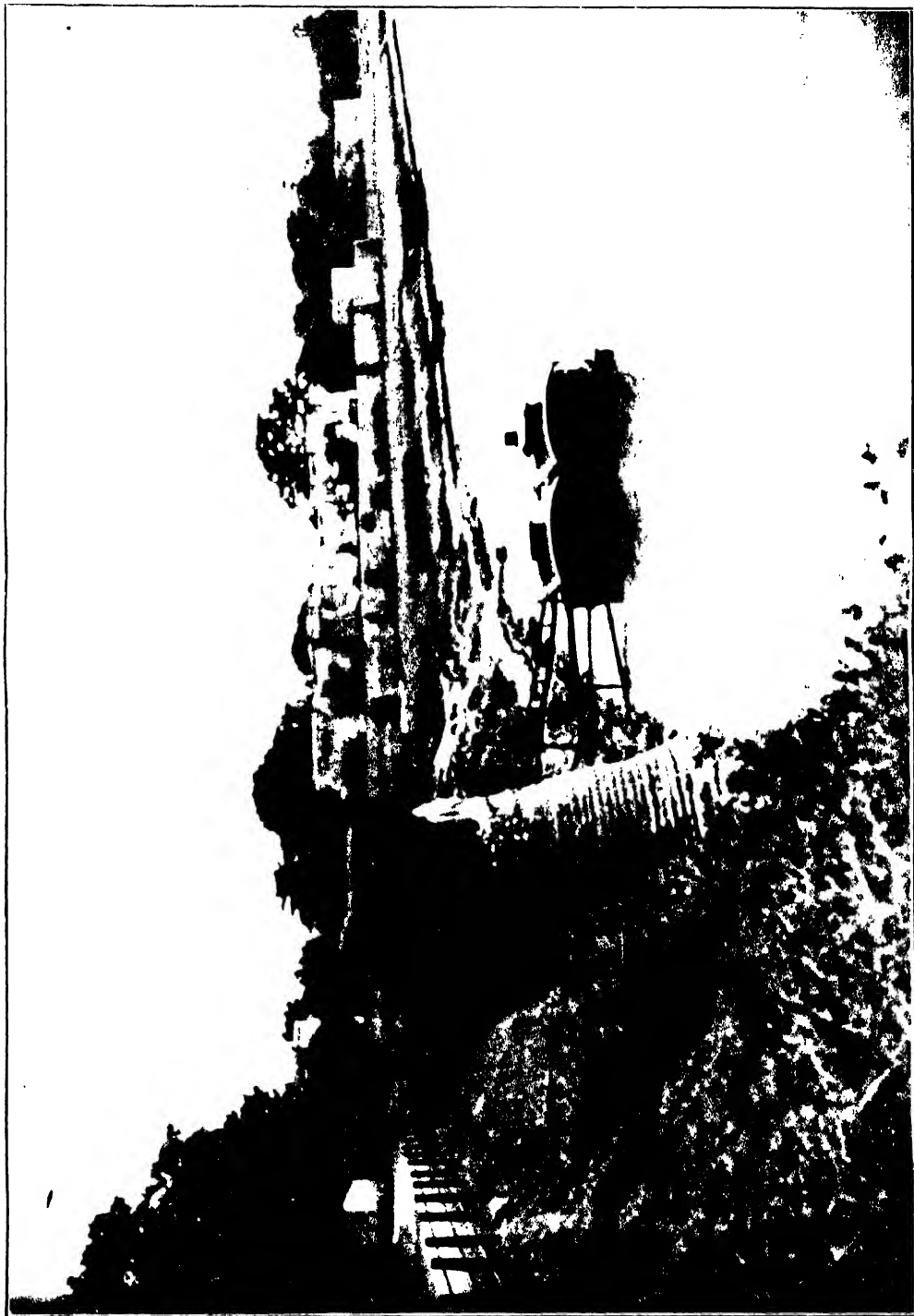
The Black Hole Episode : is it History or Myth ?

[*English Translation of the foregoing paper by Mr. A. Lehuroux*].

IS the dreadful episode of the Black Hole of Calcutta during the night of the 20th June 1756, like the heroic revolt of William Tell against Gessler, nothing more than a legend ? The incident is well known. In the forenoon of the 20th June 1756 Siraj-ud-daula, Nawab of Bengal, captured Fort William at Calcutta. The Governor, Mr. Drake, had escaped two days earlier to Fulta on the Hoogly with a portion of the English from the town ; the remainder, unable to follow his example, were compelled either to remain in the fort or to return to the town. Mr. Holwell conducted the defence. On the 20th June at about 11 o'clock in the morning he capitulated. In the afternoon he had three conferences with Siraj-ud-daula the subject of which remains a mystery, but which probably referred to the surrender of the alleged treasures of the Company. In the evening the officers of Siraj-ud-daula confined the survivors, to the number of 169, in a prison called the Black Hole. The prison was a cell eighteen feet by fourteen, the heat was stifling and 143 perished during the night. Mr. Holwell was among the survivors ; he was removed to Murshidabad and eventually set at liberty about the 10th July. But he had already spread the news of that tragic night in a letter addressed by him from Cassimbazar to a Company's servant named Sykes. Later, he wrote a more detailed narrative of the catastrophe. The account was published in 1764. The impression produced by these revelations is one of the gloomiest in history.

Till very recent times, apart from the Bengalis, no one had cast a doubt on the authenticity of Holwell's facts. Last September *Bengal Past and Present*, the organ of the Calcutta Historical Society, published a long article in which Mr. Little, an Englishman resident in Murshidabad, set out to prove that if there were English prisoners confined in the Black Hole on the 20th June 1756, their number did not exceed nine and the victims were not more than three.

To justify his opinion Mr. Little first endeavours to establish that Holwell, in the opinion of Clive himself as well as of other Directors of the East India Company of the period, was wont to draw largely upon his imagination for his facts. Apart from the Black Hole episode he had invented other imaginary conversations and incidents. The Black Hole incident, according to Mr. Little, was imagined by Holwell merely to screen himself from a trick practised by him on the 20th June at the capitulation, which, for some reason difficult to surmise, he had omitted to make known to his people. When Siraj-ud-daula's soldiers came to take possession of the fort they met with an unexpected resistance, the garrison continuing to fire on them. Driven to fury they returned the fire of the English, killing a great number. These were, according to Mr. Little, the alleged victims of the Black Hole. Witnesses to his decep-



tion having thus disappeared, when Holwell was restored to liberty fifteen days or three weeks later he concocted the story known to us.

Mr. Little's article produced a considerable sensation in India. The newspapers of Bengal, notably the *Englishman* and the *Statesman*, commented on it at great length. His critics point to the existence of several survivors of the Black Hole who died as late as 1800, the latest in 1815, and quote the letters of Holwell's contemporaries one of whom shared his dramatic captivity. They also appeal to the opinion of Law de Lauristan, the former Chief of the French loge of Cassimbazar, who wrote in 1764 in his "Mémoires sur quelques affaires de l'Empire Mogol" published by us in 1913, a lurid account of the Calcutta drama.

Mr. Little refutes this evidence on the ground of the total absence of official documents relating to the occurrence. Neither the English refugees from Calcutta, nor the French at Chandernagor, nor yet the Dutch at Hoogly have written anything which makes the faintest allusion to that tragic night, although all relate the capture of Fort William. He recognises moreover that the distortion of history has been very rapid. It appears to have even preceded the liberation of Holwell. Prepared by him in a letter addressed to Sykes, it finds confirmation as early as July 3rd in a letter from Chandernagor written by some Englishmen who were not eye witnesses. Three months later it had become an accepted historical fact.

However great the interest attaching to the subject, we can only give it a very limited space here, as the Black Hole incident belongs to English history. But since Mr. Little has alluded to the absence of French testimony in the circumstances, it appeared to us interesting to consult the archives of Pondichery, the only ones actually available. In Registers Nos. 90 & 91 of our archives we possess a series of letters from 1744 to 1757 written by the Council of Pondichery to that of Chandernagor, or by the latter to different persons. Unfortunately these letters are incomplete; nevertheless we have discovered five, two of which are of great importance. They originate from the same source, the Superior Council of Chandernagor, but with a strange irony one sustains Mr. Little's theory, while the other seemingly refutes it.

In a letter dated 25th June addressed to the factory of Masulipatam, Mr. Renault the Chief of Chandernagor relates that Siraj-ud-daula is at war with the English; he has arrived at Calcutta which he is besieging with 50,000 men, a great number of elephants and a numerous artillery. The issue is as yet unknown, but Mr. Renault anticipates the defeat and expulsion of the English. Nevertheless Mr. Renault's letter displays no sympathy for Siraj-ud-daula. The next day Mr. Renault knows the end of the drama and announces it in the following terms in a second letter to the factory of Musulipatam:

"(The English) had taken the precaution, from the beginning of the siege which has not been long, to embark the wives of the *employés* and of the principal residents,which makes one believe these vessels will have much to endure from now till they can get out of the Ganges and gain the coast. The Nawab did no harm to those who were in the factory when he took possession of it. He was content

to have them stripped of their belongings, and dismissed them, with the exception of the principal residents whom he has made prisoners."

This letter written the day following the event should be carefully noted. Not only does Mr. Renault ignore the Black Hole affair, but he calmly writes the *Nawab did no harm to those who were in the factory*. The letter certainly supports Mr. Little's theory.

In another letter dated 29th August, also addressed to Masulipatam, and which appears to be a continuation of that of 26th June, Mr. Renault still appears to be ignorant of the Black Hole incident.

"No event of importance," he writes "has occurred in the country since the capture of Calcutta, and the English have so far not made any sign. All those who were imprisoned have been set free by the Nawab and have regained their ships. They have been joined by several boats from the coast, but among them there is only one Company's vessel bearing 250 soldiers from Madras. It does not appear that with such a feeble reinforcement they will attempt any enterprise, seeing that they lack the greater part of the means required for the purpose. There has been a rumour afloat for sometime that they are willing to come to terms with the Nawab in order to return to their settlement, but this has not taken place. It is said at present that the war ships have gone to Madras and that large forces are assembling there to come and avenge the affront to the nation."

Mr. Renault on the 29th August sees nothing more in the capture of Calcutta than an *affront* offered to the English ; to judge by current rumours the English regard themselves so little as the victims of an abominable crime that they are thinking of making terms with the Nawab. The opinion of Mr. Renault is very different on the 16th September. In a letter addressed that day to Mr. LeVerrier, the Chief of Surat, he narrates events from their commencement :

"When we sent you our packets for Europe last July" he wrote, "we were so occupied that it was impossible to give you the smallest details concerning the revolution that we announced to you, the account of which formed the subject of our despatch. You will learn from the present that the Nawab Siraj-ud-daula having, contrary to the expectation of everyone, succeeded his grand uncle (*sic*) Ali Verdi Khan in the Soubadari of Bengal from the month of April, the English have experienced the most terrible effects of the anger of this young prince whom they had irritated by their arrogance and by the asylum they had accorded to certain of his enemies.

"Provoked by their boasting he invested them in their fort of Cassimbazar with many of their troops and after having removed the Chief (Mr. Watts) he made them surrender the factory which, although strong, was defended by only a few troops. Emboldened by this success, which he originally had little ground to expect, he drew up his army in battle array and came to lay siege to this place on the 18th June with 60,000 men, an immense artillery and numerous elephants.

"The vanity of the English having led them to believe that the Moors would never dare to venture so far, they found themselves so surprised and terrorised

that they lost their heads at the sight of the enemy and did not profit by any of the advantages which Europeans possess over such contemptible troops. Although well fortified and numbering 600 Europeans, they scarcely offered the least resistance. The very day before the arrival of the Nawab (the 19th) the Governor, Mr. Drake, took refuge on the ships, with the commandant of the troops, the greater part of the Council, officers, inhabitants and the women. The few soldiers who remained in the fort, refusing to obey any superiors, so great a disorder ensued that the white flag was hoisted on the afternoon of the 20th. But the Moors, not wishing to recognise any capitulation, attacked the gates in great numbers and forced an entry, doing great violence to those who continued to offer any resistance. The pillage of both the settlement and the factory was immense, the English not having taken the precaution of embarking all their wealth.

"This was so to speak but the beginning of their troubles. The prisoners, amounting to some 200, having been confined pell-mell in a warehouse, were nearly all suffocated during the night. Those who survived, and especially the principal inhabitants, after enduring every species of misery, and having been carried in chains to Moxoudabad were sent back to us by the Nawab in the most pitiable condition, which we have endeavoured to relieve by all the assistance possible.

"The fate of those who escaped to the vessels was not less deplorable. Having gained the lower reach of the river with the utmost trouble in the world, they have suffered all the ill effects of the season and the inconvenience of having a multitude of women and children by whom the vessels were overcrowded, all of which added to bad fare procured with difficulty has produced a species of pestilential malady that carries away numbers every day. Many have come to seek relief here and at Chinsurah, but very few have recovered."

A letter conceived in exactly the same terms was sent to the Council of He de France on the 16th December following. Do these documents suffice to pass a decisive judgment on the incident of the Black Hole? We do not think so. Like Mr. Little we are at first surprised that so extraordinary and alarming an event should not immediately have become known to public opinion, while on the other hand it seems difficult to admit that a legend of this nature could have grown so quickly. That Mr. Holwell and the English should have accepted it without question and spread it with complacency is not surprising, since it served their interests; but to admit that strangers should have been equally credulous is to say that their hatred for Siraj-ud-daula had extinguished in them all spirit of criticism. None of these suppositions is impossible. In 1756 the French at Chandernagor still considered that their interests were indetical with those of the English, and their fear of Siraj-ud-daula fed by reports of his lordly cruelties, clouded their judgment.

We must, therefore, until further evidence is forthcoming, regard Mr. Little's theory as not proven, but we are far from considering his arguments as valueless. India, every one knows, is a land where truth is deformed with the greatest ease and rapidity. We find instances of this fact every day in our own administration. It must also be recognised, in equity, that cruelty is not the characteristic of Indians, and nothing

justifies us in supposing that in the present case they wreaked vengeance for a particular offence. Siraj-ud-daula, every one is agreed, did not give orders to imprison the English or to cause them to perish in so brutal a fashion ; why should his officers have been more cruel ? From the standpoint of psychology this is by no means evident. "

We shall be told perhaps that seven years later at Patna the dethroned Nawab Mir Kassim caused many English to be put to death under still more cruel circumstances ; but Mir Kassim had good grounds for hating the English and for wishing to be revenged on them. Moreover nothing tells us that in ordering their massacre he did not wish to transform the Black Hole legend into a striking reality.

We must not ask History to be the handmaid of passion. Holwell sleeps in the grave yard of Pinner since 1798 ; he has his statue at Calcutta, let us respect his grave. As to his memory, if it is ever proved beyond doubt that the incident of the Black Hole was grossly exaggerated, it should not be forgotten that, according to the official documents published by Mr. Hill in his *Bengal in 1756-57*, the English defended themselves bravely against Siraj-ud-daula on the 20th June till six o'clock in the evening and that a great number of them fell in the fight.

In default of legend that alone would suffice for their fame.

A. MARTINEAU.



The Letters of Mr. Richard Barwell—VIII.

No. 290.

To A. BEAUMONT, ESQ.

DACCA,

The 5th March 1774.

DEAR BEAUMONT,

I have now before me your several letters of the following dates, 16th November, 10th December 1772, the 10th February and 9th April 1773, with one of Leycester and Beaumont's of the 12th February 1773. These I take in course and where any comments on your own affairs or mine are necessary I shall make them. In the first place with respect to remittances I could wish if any opportunities offer, you would not pass them by but draw upon me for whatever sums you can secure in England and be assured your bills shall be duly honored. Your bills I shall even be content with an exchange of two shillings for the current rupee on payments made you for bills on me at 60 or 90 days' sight. Rous has not written to me a syllable respecting the Madeira he was engaged to deliver; you will therefore be so good as to settle it with him. The disappointment I have suffered in the nonpayment of Middleton's and Ellis's engagements has laid me under the necessity of sending home to my sister a lack of rupees in bullion, and I must request the favor of you, should those bills not be paid, you will return them to me protested in the form prescribed in the bond which accompanied the first of Chevalier's drafts taking care that the protest is properly notified at the Royal Exchange of London. I have written on this subject to my sister and my brother whom I could wish you to consult on the subject. I entirely approve of all you have hitherto done respecting those bills and the detention of them in England in the hope that the money would be ultimately paid. My confidence in the rectitude of your intentions of your acting in the manner most conducive to my interest is such that I with pleasure authorise you and Leycester hereby to act in such measure as you may think most for my benefit, a trust I confide to you without reserve, as I am fully persuaded it will be discharged in every respect, consistent with that friendship that has so long subsisted between us. I thank you for the sweetmeats sent by Sealy; they were by

some accident lost, I do suppose, as I never received them for him. I have made enquiries relative to Bolts' fortune in India and am sorry to tell you that I have little reason to think his attorneys will have any means in their hands to discharge his bond to you, should you be induced to send it out. However, to secure you as much as lays in my power, I engaged Mr. Cator, who lives with me, to give you the preference, if he does receive any money on Bolts' account, and you should send me the bond. Pardon my forgetfulness in not procuring you the Bandonecous you want for your own use and be assured I will rectify my omission by the very first ship of the next year.

You will hear from Mr. Cooke that his bill on Mrs. Ann Dyer has been properly honored.

In return for the macaroni sword knott you sent me with the compliments of my old acquaintance, Miss Keene, I beg you will offer her my thanks. My sword hilt has never to my knowledge been so finely decorated.

I held a bond of Captain Duffell which in consequence of your information of £400 being paid you part in money and part in Company's certificates I have cancelled.

I am sorry at Sir George Colebrooke's failure, though I do not imagine any other inconvenience will arise from it to my family beyond the delay which such accidents generally occasion in paying off his creditors. I feel and lament Sir George's situation. Bred in ease and affluence with flattering prospects before him, to sink at once to a state of dependence is a heart-breaking circumstance.

The monies which my former letters direct to be paid into my sister's hands I beg you will comply with from whatever sums that may come in from the different remittances made to you by me. Adieu.

Nos. 291—94.

Dacca.	1774,	March	6.	J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	"	"	10.	do. to Nicholas Grueber.	"
"	"	"	10.	do. to Wm. Bensley.	"
"	"	"	12.	R. Barwell to James Lawrell.	"

No. 295.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

DACCA,

13th March 1774.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed is a copy of a general order received the other day from the Town Major's office, in consequence of which I beg leave to submit to

you a list of the people entertained and their pay. This establishment is so very moderate and so very necessary that I cannot avoid representing to you that its abolition must be followed by some new arrangement. The few lascars and artificers for the service of the garrison are even at present not limited: that the arms in store are very indifferently repaired and kept in order; and there must be some lascars to attend to the care and delivery of the stores, and to serve the guns which are here. Brigade lascars may be appointed for this purpose, or the lascars who have been long at this station incorporated into the Brigades and continued. I have intimated the order for the reduction to the Paymaster, and it will take place accordingly, but I request you will be so kind as to favour me with your instructions in what manner the stores, guns, and arms in the garrison are to be taken care of. The sepoy arms which are delivered to the corps, the artificers attached to it have in charge and are as much as they can attend to.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

Nos. 296—9.

Dacca. 1774, March 16. To the Hon. W. Hastings. Of no interest.

" " " 17. To W. M. Thackeray.

" " " " Do. Capt. E. Elliker.

" " " " Do. Do. Do.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, pp. 187—8.]

No. 300.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

DACCA,

The 21st March 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I was but a few days since favoured with your letter of 15th February by Mirza Ally Nucky [?], or you would have heard from me before that. Your commands had been executed. Recommendations when they came from those who, if they please, may order the matter recommended to be done is (*sic*) pleasing, and by many the optional power is used in an attempt to over-persuade the person who gives it from his purpose of serving the man he is pleased to countenance. I flatter myself in such points you will alway find my actions respect the consideration you indulge me with; for if I know myself, it would be under very particular circumstances indeed that I should start any difficulty or objection to your wishes so communicated.

No. 301.

Dacca, 22nd March, 1774. Barwell to Herbert Harris.

Of no interest.

No. 302.

TO MR. CHARLES CROFTES,

Sub-Treasurer.

DACCA,

The 22nd March 1774.

SIR,

As soon as I get all my papers from Calcutta which I expect from there in a few days, I will examine them and transmit you the accounts you require. As none of my attorneys are acquainted or know anything of the accounts of so long a date as these which relate to the Restitution Fund established in 1764, I am under a necessity of inspecting them personally, or you would not probably be furnished with the papers complete.

No. 303.

Dacca, 22nd March 1774. J. Cator to W. Barton.

Of no interest.

No. 304.

TO WILLIAM LAMBERT, ESQR.,*

DACCA,

The 22nd March 1774.

DEAR LAMBERT,

By to-night's *dawk* I have sent under cover to Messrs. Bensley and Price, my attorneys in Calcutta, the engagement to postpone the further enforcing my decrees against you for three years, unless you die in the intermediate time, on your paying me C.Rs. 3,000 in part thereof, with direction to deliver the said engagement to you on receiving that sum of money. You will perceive a clause inserted unless you consent to my enforcing the decrees previous to the expiration of that term, which clause is added lest your circumstances should be so situated that your other creditors take out executions against you on your effects within that period, in which case I must do you the justice to suppose you will consent to my decrees being enforced at the same time; and I thought that mode of mentioning it in the engagement would be more agreeable than entering into particulars, not doubting but you will in answer to this engage to give your consent, should such an event happen.

I am, dear Lambert,

* See *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. II, p. 510 *et seq.*, Vol. IV, p. 491.

No. 305.

Dacca, 22 March 1774. To W. Bensley and Price Of no interest.

Nos. 306—8.

Dacca 24 March 1774. J. Cator to T. Tulloh. Of no interest.

" 1 April " " " Simeon Droz. "

" " " " " W. Bensley & J. Price. "

No. 309.

Dacca, 9 April 1774 to Warren Hastings.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 188.]

No. 310.

TO JOHN STEWART, ESQR.,

Dacca,

The 9th April 1774.

DEAR STEWART,

Late yesterday evening I was attacked in my carriage by your running post half out of breath, and before I opened the letter I was in no small trepidation as to the contents you may imagine. I was agreeably relieved to find no perverse spirit has risen to vex me with some new and unexpected matter, for I am too well satisfied with ease and indolence to be fond of combating the intrigues and difficulties which the devil takes them too frequently to intrude in all the walks of life. The manner of your asking the question, "had you not better apply to the Public Board for a copy of the paragraph touching the French disputes" appears a kind of hint that it is not so fair and favourable in the main as might be hoped for. It is true I have no right to look up for support to a public body in which an individual who has every inducement to serve himself at my expense has so mighty an influence. I mean your countryman Stewart, and I am sure he will not defend me at his own expense, but in this instance I am happy to depend on myself. I see the object as it really is, right if it coincides with the views of Ministry, wrong only so far as it may interfere with the pacific policy of the Court. Upon this ground you may imagine I am not anxious or apprehensive. I am sensible I acted right possibly beyond the narrow scale limited by the Company, but still the matter is in itself right and I am totally indifferent while I deserve well even if I do become a temporary sacrifice. The line

you recommend I have long since taken and should the subject come before the Ministry and be there discussed, I flatter myself I shall not be entirely destitute of support. The interest which has served my friends in the Direction is my reliance, and if no partial causes intervene to interrupt its operation I am convinced it will advance my credit and give me a surer hold on the Service. I will write to Mr Hastings to favour me with a copy of the General Letter as far as it relates to the French.

I had a letter from Mr. Maclean a few days before his departure, a very friendly one and were warm in behalf of his friends. I doubt whether you know its contents, for it speaks mostly upon your happy talents and good qualities, topics that are seldom talked of to a man's own face, though they are dwelt on with pleasure by his intimates. I need not urge to you here my attachment to Mr. Maclean. A fortunate concurrence of circumstances has established him in my friendship, and I hope I have given him an equally favourable impression of me. I rely atleast on his word and a conviction that my inclination will do justice to the confidence he may place in me.

You must know that in all my differences with Mr. Hastings, none were ever of my seeking and under the idea he appears to have acted. I am not surprised, though I confess myself to have been hurt at the conduct of others. Of course as I can have no resentment, and have every lure to court his support, I am most sincere in expressing my wish to bury all past matters in oblivion and uniting in one common interest. It was my intention when I left Calcutta to have passed my correspondence through you. How it is obstructed will be hereafter explained. At present you must rest satisfied that it is my dependence on you which influences me to decline it, and makes me not trouble you with matters on which I may have occasion to address Mr. Hastings.

Ever since the House of Commons entered seriously upon India business material changes were to be expected. The arrangements reported are, I think, very probable and confined to Bengal except in the political line which may be more extensive in order to prevent the jarring views of the different administrations of the different Presidencies. A Superior Council which is to be equally provident of the particular interests of the Company and of the public will be doubtless approved by the State, but while the Company's Charter exists, the Company will certainly have the privilege of pointing out for Governor him whom the State shall nominate and likewise, if not all, atleast some members of the Superior Council. It would be absurd to suppose that men to whom the orders of the Company are to be transmitted will hold appointments wholly independent of them. A charge for which they are to account to the Company implies they can never be wholly independent, and while the Company's Charter exists, it would be absurd to suppose any

institution which shall virtually deprive the Company of the Government they are authorised to hold under that Charter. I do not think you have any reason to be apprehensive of your friend Barwell. Mr. Francis is the man of business for the Government. His talents were in so much repute that the Opposition made his resignation of the post of the First Clerk in the War Office an object. It was hoped that the station of Deputy Secretary vacated at the sametime with the loss of the person who was entrusted with the whole weight of the business might have distressed Government and embarrassed Lord Barrington, but you must know all these matters better than I can pretend to do. I shall, therefore, leave the subject to be elucidated by the *Eagle's* despatches. I cannot credit the vote about the refunding presents. It is of a complexion so truly Asiatic that it can never suit the meridian of London.

I shall be obliged to you for any Europe letters that fall in your way directed to me. I have requested Bensley to the same purpose (to take up my letters). The *dawk* is the conveyance I prefer, as in general it is less subjected to accidents. Private *hirkarrahs* frequently miscarry the public ones. If interrupted, the information is immediately communicated from the next stage and the time and place lead to a direct scrutiny, whereas private *hirkarrahs* may suffer from accident or design and nothing is known of such having occurred until it is too late to trace the cause or how they miscarried. This reasoning does not hold with the Patna *dawk* opened at Muxadabad and Monghyr, but to Dacca the packages come entire and without being opened on the road.

The report you have had communicated respecting Hurry Mullick is founded, I imagine, upon a wish I expressed of nominating a man (I approved) to his office. This was all that passed from me and I do not expect such an indulgence. I do not desire any change and more especially as my time will be very short, atleast I think so.

The Bullooah Chowdries have been repeatedly called upon to prove the general charges they urge against their security or more properly their farmer. Their complaints are before the Dacca Council. If they are justly founded they will be relieved, but they must answer the engagements they have contracted. There is a Tuncaw granted to the Luckypore Factory upon Bullooah for the amount of its revenue account. The advance is required for the Luckypore investment. Besides my inclination to keep things upon as agreeable a footing as I can for Barton has no small influence. However that shall not sway me if I find the Chowdries prove any just cause of complaints against their security.

As it is my intention to be in Calcutta by June I wrote to the Governor for permission of absence. This, I fear, may interfere with my wish to serve

you in an investment especially if I do not return to Dacca. The sooner you send money the better and a list of goods. I will to my utmost extend my care to your interests and secure them should I remove.

You inform me nothing about the Bond debt which conveys the least information of the manner in which it has been taken up, a total silence on the previous agitation of the subject or do they adopt the measure with cautious strictures?

I have heard, I do not know how true, that Mr. Hastings has favoured Graham with an epistle dedicatory to the Directors annexed to the arrangements that have been made. Pray is it so, and what is it that has been said? Will you furnish me with a copy? Adieu.

I am, dear Stewart,

Your friend and servant.

Nos. 311—12.

Dacca, 11 April 1774. R. B. to Bensley and Price. Of no interest.

" " " J. Cator to Chas. Croftes. "

No. 313.

TO MR. WOOD, *Agent for receiving the Salt manufactured for the Hon'ble Company in the Pergunnah of Salimabad, etc.*

DACCA,

The 15th April 1774.

SIR,

I enclose you a list of balances claimed by Balliram Beragie which I am to request of you to investigate, the subfarmer Coja Muhaib being to account for the sum outstanding on Balliram Beragie's advances of the last season. The investigation of these is to have your attention and you are to make it in the presence of the parties taking before them the acknowledgment of the Molungees for such balances as may be due from them. The balances of the antecedent years you will likewise enquire into and send me a distinct account. A *perwanah* to this effect I will forward to you in a few days that if the parties neglect attending you through the course of the enquiry they may be compelled to it by you.

P.S.—Permit me to recommend to your patronage Gunsam (Ghianasham?) Contoo Baboo's *gomastah* at Calna.

NOS. 314-21.

Dacca, 1774 16 April to Chas Croftes, *Sub-Treasurer*.

[Refers to Restitution Fund and W. Majendie and Wm. Aldersey.]

"	"	"	"	J. Cator	to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	"	"	"	do.	to Mr. Tulloh.	Relative to salt.
"	"	27	February		to W. M. Thackeray.	
"	"	14	April		to Capt. Elliker.	

[Printed in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V, pp. 185—89.]

"	"	19	"	J. Cator	to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
"	"	"	"	do.	T. Tulloh.	do.
"	"	20	"		to Elias Abraham.	Salt business.

No. 322.

TO MR. MATHEW DAY.

Dacca,

The 20th April 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 14th, and your people inform me the *delolls* and *picars* you desire may be sent to settle their accounts with the weavers, have prepared *gomastahs* to go to you and that they now send them. A supply of treasure likewise to the amount of 80,000 sicca rupees is this day dispatched. The *perwannah* you require I have made out and enclose with its translation. I hope it will prove sufficiently full to answer the end proposed. To enable you to adjust the account of the weavers it becomes necessary to inform you what is the *dustoori* entered in the public accounts:

To the Company percentage on all advances of	...	1'9
Chief	... ..	1'8
Dewan	... ..	1'
Office servants	... ..	'6
Charity 1 rupee per thousand enoms 2 per thousand		
turns at	... ..	'5

4'12 percentage on the investment.

The officer from the Phousdarry Adawlut has sometime since left Dacca and I do suppose must be arrived with you. I shall be obliged by your taking, the Sonargong and Chaundpore *aurungs* in your way back and establishing the regulations proper for securing the investment at those places.

Nos. 323—28.

Dacca, 1774.	23 April.	J. Cator to George Robertson.	Betelnut business.
"	"	Do. to Laver Oliver.	Do.
"	"	Do. to Ewan Law.	Of business at Patna
"	25	Do. to W. Barton.	Of no interest.
"	26	Do. Do.	Do.
"	"	Do. to W. Bensley.	Do.

No. 329.

To MR. E. TIRETTA.

DACCA,
26th April 1774.

DEAR SIR,

As Mr. Barwell will shortly return to and reside in Calcutta he begs you will proceed to make the additions to his Garden House ; and, as he is anxious to have them completed as soon as possible, he desires me to inform you he will make you a present over and above the sum specified in your contract if you finish them in a short time, and begs to know when you can engage to complete them.

I am, dear Sir, etc.,
J. C.

Nos. 330-31.

Dacca, 1774.	April 29.	To Bensley and Price.	
		[Remitting bill in favour of Mrs. Arden.]	
"	30.	To Chas. Croftes.	Of no interest.

No. 332.

To WILLIAM BENSLEY AND JOSEPH PRICE, ESQS.

DACCA,
2nd May 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

I am desired by Mr. Barwell to beg the favor of you to send for Mr. Tiretta and order him to take down all the cornish of the hall at his house in town and put up surze or repair it in such a manner that it may not be liable to fall again, as the state it is now in, it will be unsafe sitting in the hall ; and, as the time of Mr. Barwell's return to Calcutta draws nigh, he begs no time may be lost in completing it.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most h'ble servant.
J. C.

No. 333.

Dacca, 1774, 4 May

to Mathew Day

Of no interest.

No. 334.

To Mr. GEORGE HATCH.

Dacca,

6th May 1774.

SIR,

I have received your letters of the 27th ultimo, and 2nd instant. In consequence of what you intimate respecting the obstructions given by the zemindars of Attya etc., I will send you in a few days a *perwannah* to each ordering them to deliver in to the *gomasta* a list of the looms and number of weavers in their separate districts. The purport of the public *perwannahs* of which you forwarded the copy is to prevent any persons forcing weavers against their inclination to receive the advances, but it by no means is to be perverted in the manner the zemindars appear to interpret it, to exclude all advances whatsoever. The weavers are at liberty to engage or not engage as servants of the public or individuals. This is to be left at their option and the zemindars etc. are on no account to interfere. I am sensible it is the interest of every zemindar and landholder throughout the country to prevent if possible the manufacturers who are likewise ryots, becoming the immediate servants of the Company. So intimate a connection with the Company bringing them immediately under the eye of an agent of the public whose particular province it becomes to attend to and take care of their interests must alarm the zemindars with a prospect that a large portion of their tenants may by this means be emancipated and secured forever from that oppressive power to which by prescription every zemindar pretends, and to which the poverty of the sufferers and the obstacles they meet with in obtaining redress forces them to submit. The plan, therefore, which I have adopted for the investment, it is impossible, can be pleasing to any of the landholders, for although it secures to the zemindars the revenue they are to receive from the weavers as cultivators of land, it removes the weavers beyond the reach of the zemindar's exactions. This being the case it is evidently calculated by the public orders issued to secure to the Company the service of the manufacturers of the country by rendering it particularly their interest to give their labors to the Company.

The letters from Dinagepur will shortly pass through you and the zemindars in consequence receive instructions from Mr. Lambert and his Council to repair to Dacca when you will have every power requisite to give success

to your commission and to enforce the regulations necessary. In the meantime I must desire you to secure any of the landholders who shall presume to obstruct or impede you in the execution of the duty you are sent upon.

The musters of 50 per cent. of cloths have been received and are now sorting, but it is improper to permit the weavers to protract the time or build expectations of exorbitant gain from the exigencies of the Company, but in this year you must press them to an explicit and immediate declaration and take care to withdraw from all who do not engage to supply the Company, the countenance of the Company, and give in their names to the officer of the Government. The musters and pieces of the cloths particularised to the *gomastah* when he went from hence leaves not to the weavers the shadow of a reason for the request they now prefer to have the 50 per cent. of cloths you have sent prized and returned before they engage for the delivery of what their looms can produce, and I must express myself not only much vexed with the folly or villanny of the people who influenced you to listen to the proposition, but am determined if I find the least obstruction to the investment to remove immediately every person from employ to whose particular charge it has been entrusted and supply their places with new servants.

The plea of the dearness of cotton is ridiculous when you consider that it seldom rises or falls 10 rupees in the maund, and when this is compared with the weight of a single per cent of cotton it is evident it can never affect the price half a rupee in the price. However as an encouragement to the manufacturer a premium of a percentage is fixed for all cloths which equal those fabricated in former times (that is Mr. Cartier's) and on the contrary if the cloths do not equal Mr. Cartier's no premium is to be given. Where an encouragement is offered it is with a view to amendment, and this end would not be insured if the same compensation was made without limitation or distinction and extended to all fabrics. The manufacturer who excels in his art and he who is deficient must never be placed on an equality, as it would destroy all competition in the exertion of their skill. As soon as the 50 per cent is prized they shall be sent to you.

With respect to *batta* on sicca rupees I cannot send you any positive instructions. Any innovation opposed by the prejudices of a whole people being dangerous and oppressive, however to render their currency as general as possible, I will enclose in my next letter a *perwannah* enjoining receipt of sicca rupees in payment of the revenue. That will probably facilitate your adjusting the *batta* on more advantageous terms than you otherwise might be enabled to do. If it has not the full effect, the Company must submit to what loss may arise on the advances in siccas, for the weavers must not suffer in this particular.

No private merchant can be supplied by the *gomastah* with any goods, but such as are rejected for the Company as being deficient in quality, length, or breadth, and such rejected goods are to be charged with a *dustori* of 10 per cent. and a proportion of the *aurung* charges on the whole investment and agreeably to their prizings the public *gomastah* is to replace their amount in his monthly accounts and deliver them to the agents of any private purchasers. And as this may be an object to the gentlemen to whose superintendence I have given the *aurungs*, if they judge it for their interest they may accept of commissions to supply private merchants from the farratted or rejected goods. For this purpose they will of course entertain an agent of their own, who, upon paying the *gomastah* the cost and charges of the goods, will receive them as they come in.

Nos. 335-36.

Dacca, 1774. April 31. To Capt. E. Elliker.

„ May 2. To W. M. Thackeray.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, pp. 186—90.]

No. 337.

To JOHN GRAHAM, ESQ.

DACCA,

12th May 1774.

DEAR GRAHAM,

I am obliged by your attention to the subjects, I addressed you upon. Whatever may be the opinions of the majority of the Board that must prevail. The claim of Munnavar Dubbee I should not have noticed if I had not been convinced in my own mind that all the misfortunes of the family of Dayall Chowdhuri proceeded from the infamous contrivances of Aga Baker. The fame of the beauties of the daughter of Dayall Chowdhuri industriously propagated by that parasite and lusciously described to Murshed Cooly Cawn artfully interested his passions, and with the true spirit of the Prophet he determined the conversion of the Gebers (I think the Hindoos were so called formerly) with a peace offering in one hand and the sword of destruction in the other, he made his explanation of the *Aicoran* to the affrighted Hindoos. Drove to the utmost distress Dayall Chowdhuri flew from death or pollution the only alternative offered him, and being unable to defend his honour and his life, his desperation atlast determined him to disappoint the lustful designs of his persecutor by inflicting a voluntary death on his daughter, the female part of his family and himself, hoping to extinguish

with his life the pretext upon which the zemindari might have been withheld from him. He was mistaken. His pretensions to make their infamy complete styled the opposition he had made rebellion and his sons were barred thereby succeeding to their father's rights. This is the story as I have heard it, and the facts are so notorious that at this distance of time they may be established by proof. In the *sunnud* granted to Aga Baker there is no deficiency of revenue nor any cause assigned for translating the zemindari, but the mere absence of the zemindar, and no one appearing to claim the succession. When Rajbullub came into power the defectiveness of this grant enabled him to influence Aga Baker's family to yield it up and to rest satisfied with their other acquisitions, for no purchase of the zemindari was ever effected by Rajbullab or any money paid. One was pretended. To elucidate this, the family of Aga Baker at this instant complain of the violence and oppression that wrested the zemindari of Burzurgomudpore out of their hands.

The reasons touching the reversion of the acts of former Governments and the revival of such ancient claims are all just and proper.

I am, Dear Graham.

Nos. 338—40.

Dacca, No date. To W. M. Thackeray.

[Printed in *Bengal Past & Present*, Vol. V, p. 190.]

„	1774, May 13.	J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
„	„	„ 12.	Do. to Wm. Bensley.
„	„	„	„

No. 341.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,	DACCA,
<i>President and Governor etc. Council, Fort William.</i>	<i>12th May 1774.</i>

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRS,

I received your commands of the 7th this instant requiring information of the measures pursued for the provision of Dacca investment and the nature of the engagement formed in consequence. Correcting my ideas of the mode I proposed for providing your goods by the sentiments expressed in your letter of the 7th March which did not reach me before the 20th of the same month, *gomastahs* have been appointed to superintend your interests at the different *aurungs* and the authority and intervention of the *delolls* entirely laid aside. As so total a change might possibly have proved unequal in its

effects and at the same time judged it necessary to depute two of my assistants Mr. Day and Mr. Hatch to those *aurungs* situated at the greatest distance and of the most importance, and establish there the necessary regulations and influence the manufacturers by proper encouragement to engage in the service of the public. As scarce a month is elapsed since the agents arrived at their several stations, I have it not in my power at present to be so particular as I could wish. I must, therefore, request your patience for a few days longer, and as soon as I get from the *aurungs* an account of the engagements entered into, you may depend upon my transmitting to you the fullest intelligence. In the meantime I have the pleasure to intimate to you that the new mode for the provision of the investment appears to give much satisfaction to the weavers, and that your advances have been readily received at the different *aurungs* with such assurances of improving the fabrics that I am sanguine in my hopes of answering your expectations by the provision of a superior investment in quality and in quantity.

Exclusive of the mere provision of the goods I have considered the various charges to which they are subjected after their arrival at Dacca, and in order to fix therein a permanent manner I have computed at a medium of past years each separate charge and propose with your approbation an engagement within that medium to be entered into on behalf of the public with the head *Nurdeahs*, *Coondygurs*, *Chicundasses* etc., for the several branches of washing, dressing and flowering the cloths prepared for Europe.

The orders and instructions to the *gomastahs* with every other public paper respecting the new mode adopted for the investment shall be copied out and transmitted to you.

I am, Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Nos. 342—50

Dacca, 1774, May	16.	J. Cator to George Robertson	Of no interest
"	"	18.	Do. to Bensley and Price.
"	"	21.	Do. to Wm. Bensley.
"	"	21.	Bill of Exchange.
"	"	26.	To Capt. E. Elliker.
"	"	26.	Do. do.
"	"	26.	To W. M. Thackeray.
/ [Printed in <i>Bengal Past & Present</i> , Vol. V, pp. 191-92.]			
"	"	26.	J. Cator to Laver Oliver.
"	"	28	Do. to Bensley and Price.

To Mr. GEORGE HATCH.

No. 351.

DACCA,

28th May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I enclose you extract of my letter of the 20th April to Mr. Day by which you will perceive what charge was incurred at Dacca on the investment. This charge I have reduced from 4.12 to 3 per cent. and directed the Dewan to intimate it to the *gomastas* and which I imagine is the matter you mention. The *Peiarree* being an *aurung* charge is entirely distinct. The weavers have nothing to do with any charge but the *Peiarree*. The charges of servants etc., *dustorees*, is from the public and to be divided like all other public charges as charges merchandize or the investment. Whenever you choose to visit Dacca I shall be glad to see you. Take care how you act towards the French. The officer of Government stationed at Dumroy is the only man who should talk to the agents of Foreign Companies, or indeed to the agents of any merchants.

No. 352.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

DACCA,

31st May 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am this instant favoured with your letter of the 27th giving cover to one of Mr. Chevalier's of the 17th.

The public orders issued for the provision of the Company's investment I send enclosed for your perusal, and nothing in those orders I apprehend will countenance or suggest a complaint from any of the Foreign Companies. I likewise forward to you an agreement entered into by the weavers of the one of the *aurungs* (Dacca) upon their engaging into the Public Service. The inducement which they have to become manufacturers to the English Company in preference to other merchants is obvious and clear, nor has there been (I can assure you) the least compulsive power used to influence the weavers to the service. So far from it that some who have been ejected for misconduct have anxiously solicited a readmission to an employ fraught with so many benefits to themselves and families. The whole train of *delolls*, farmers of the revenue, zemindars and talukdars, you will instantly discern, must all be connected in point of interest, because they are all deprived by the Regulations of participating the profits of the manufacturer in which hitherto they have all shared. If we are to judge from the natural consequences of known causes the price of all clothes for 6 years past is greatly

enhanced. The materials of manufacture here are very little dearer than in former times. Wages of workmen scarcely, if anything, increased, and yet the manufacturer is, if possible, more indigent. Where then has sunk the enormous difference of between 50 and 60 per cent. in the price of all Dacca goods? Without doubt, with the *delolls*, farmers of the revenue, etc. An exemption of course from these drains is a sufficient lure to the manufacturer who perceives an establishment made and precautions taken which are to operate wholly in his favour, and which can no longer exist than while it affords him those advantages and that security he is to drive from them. From the weavers' engagements you will perceive no restriction is laid on the sale or purchase of any cloth but such as the English Company previously advance for. The advances the weavers have an option to receive or decline, but once received they stand engaged to perform the service for which it is given. As I know of no *perwannahs* or *machulcas* but of the nature here defined, it is probable Mr. Chevalier must be misinformed, or it may be possible, though I cannot think it, that the *gomastahs* have stepped beyond the line my orders authorise.

The relation given by Mr. Chevalier's *gomastah* is all the invention of the man, for I neither saw him or did personally exchange a word with him. When he came to the factory and would have intruded himself I directed a servant in waiting to enquire his business, who returned with a *perwannah* of Mr. Chevalier's appointing the man agent for the purchase of cloths account of the French. and he intimated that the person wanted an order to the *Tauntees* (*Tantees*) to receive his advances. Upon this I ordered my servant to return the *perwannah* and to tell the man if that was his only business. The Regulations of the Government were in force and he might make his advances where and to whom he pleased, that if in the course of his business he had occasion to complain, it was not to me but to the Court of Adawlut he must make his application, or he might apply to the Nawab Jesseraut Cawn.

The day following some of the weavers engaged for your investment were forcibly carried to the French Factory and advances proposed to be made to them through the medium of the *delolls* who pretend to have large claims on the weavers, while the weavers on the contrary advance claims on their account of short payments. They answered they were engaged by the English Company and could not provide cloth for the French without the permission of the English Chief. This transaction the weavers complained of, saying if they were liable to be taken from their habitation by people with whom they had not any connection their manufactures would suffer. I in consequence told them that if the same authority was again attempted to be exerted over them, they would upon lodging their complaints in the Phousdary Court receive full redress. This the weavers intimated they would do to the

French *gomastah*, and since then I have not received a complaint from the *Dacca aurung*, though I have from others, Dumroy in particular where the influence of the French name has been used to exact a sum of money claimed by a *deloll* account, old outstanding balances. This is mentioned in a letter of Mr. Hatch's, and that the money which had been recovered in this manner and reobtained by him by an application to the Adawlut, was the sum he had advanced a day or two before and marked by the shroff. From this you will judge the dangerous tendency of the French pretensions to weavers engaged in the English service. And what an object it is to the French to stand forth in the part of the *delolls*, now become useless instruments to you in the provision of your investment.

I am, with truth, My Dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant.

Translate of the MACHULCA given by the Dacca weavers engaged for the Company's service at the Dacca aurung.

We received *Dadney* or advance of Putton for the Dooreas, etc., cloths from the Factory of Dacca which cloths are to be full in lengths and breadths and agreeable to the musters, and patterns and a proper number of threads to be put therein. We are to deliver as much cloth as we can weave of the Putton and Coshkaried. We will not receive advances from other merchants nor will we make any sales to other merchants whilst we have advances of the *Sirkars* in our hands and should we act contrary we are subject to a *Gunnahgarrey* to the *Sircar*.

Signed by the following persons :

Ramdass, Chaund, Juggoololl, Nursing, Gour Kishore Nundun Fatteah, Hurry Narain, Goopey, Khosaul, Neetoo, Anundee, Gopaul, Fatteah, Ramchurn, Jebunbungey, Soonah, Calloo, Rangocul, Aputtick, Pummoo, Jebunkissen, Raddoo, Nandoo, Roygey, Bussunt, Perretia, Roopchandsaw, Doyaram, Muddub, Hurgovind, Badoo, Roygey, Gocul, Samoo, Roopchand, Chand, Setul, Juddogovind, Bochy, Khosaul, Soonamunny, Moyaram, Hurrynarain, Ramoogey, Gopaul, Jussey, Rajah, Coogoomohun, Rassoo, Lohah, Anundy, Samboo, Nubbah, Juggernaut, Bindah, Motoorah, Sammoobanda Chand, Tamah Roygey, Raddoo, Bandabun, Buddun, Daggoo, Maugun Golah, belonging to the village of Omerpore etc. close to the town of Dacca.

No. 353.

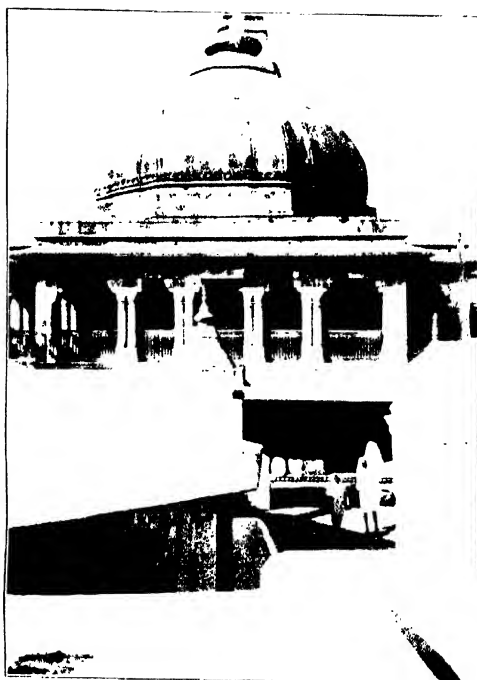
To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.

JAFFEERGUNGE

15th June 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am this instant favoured with your letter of the 10th enclosing Mr. Chevalier's address of the 4th. You tell me that from the materials with



GAYA. VISHNU PAD TEMPLE.



GAYA TOWN.



GAYA TOWN.

Photos. by Walter K. Firminger.

which I have furnished you, a complete reply to the French complaints cannot well be made. As I shall shortly be with you possibly as soon as this letter which must go to Dacca to proceed to you by the *dawks*, may I hope to have a personal communication with you. Though I alone who am particularly involved and am responsible equally to you and to the Company for those interests I am charged with being properly regulated and secured, the period is fast approaching when the Company will concentrate all their views and hopes of benefit to their trades, to put this on the most eligible footing and to give them very advantage they have, in my opinion, a right to over foreigners and others, should, is and will remain (in which I concur with you) one of my first objects. Let us then canvass this matter more copiously than be done by letter, for having the same end we probably differ but in the means. I in the meantime forward your letter to the Inspector of the Dacca *aurungs* directing him to dismiss from their engagements every weaver who is desirous of and prefers the service of the French or others, taking from the advances they have received in goods and to purchase no more goods from those men.

No. 354.

To MR. DAY,

15th June 1774.

Inspector of the Dacca, etc. 3 aurungs.

SIR,

Enclosed I transmit you a complaint preferred by Mr. Chevalier and I have in consequence to direct that whatever weavers prefer the French or any other service to the Company's, you will immediately receive in cloth to the amount of the advance already made and employ those people no more, but if the complaint is untrue upon an examination of the parties let them deliver in the particulars of what passed that it may be opposed to the tale related by the French.

No. 355.

To MR. MORONY.

Dacca,

23rd August 1774

SIR,

I am desired by Mr. Barwell to acquaint you that as he is reducing his commercial concerns and from the new station he is lately appointed to he is prohibited from all trade, consequently will not have occasion for any

loans of money, and that it is, therefore, not convenient to keep Mr. Derby Grady's moneys in his hands longer at interest, but as the Company are not in want of money, and if they did an interest of only 5 per cent. would be allowed which Mr. Barwell thinks would not suit Mr. Grady to accept whilst it can be lent out to a safe and good man at 9 or 10 per cent. and as he himself deemed Mr. Dacres to be such Mr. Barwell begs (if it meets your approbation) that you will make an offer to him of all the money of Mr. Grady's in his hands on a bond bearing 9 or 10 per cent. interest according as you can agree with him and Mr. Barwell will give orders to his attorneys for payment of the money.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. CATOR.

Nos. 356-63.

Dacca, 1774, August 22.	To Henry Goodwin, Chief of	Of no interest.
	Chittagong.	
" " "	23. J. Cator to Wm. Barton.	"
" " "	26. Bill of Exchange.	"
" " "	26. J. Cator to Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
" " "	29. To Francis Peacock.	"
[States his indebtedness to R. B. for Rs. 1,12,757 in salt business.]		
" " "	29. Bill of Exchange.	"
" " "	31. To Bensley and Price.	Of no interest.
" " Sept:	8. To William Bensley.	"

No. 364.

TO ANSELM BEAUMONT, Esq.

DACCA,

The 1st September 1774.

Dear Beaumont,

I am obliged by your letters of the 24th November and 16th December 1773. I will make the inquiry you point out respecting Respondentia on the French Company's ships, but as every species of art is used to extract money from the English, I must be very careful and certain I am not deceived in the security which is to answer the Respondentia to be lent, for as you are so very particular, I shall not let the money go out of my hands until I have ascertained the security for it is really such as you mention. Should any of your monies be lent to the French, you will be advised in time to effect an *insurance*. As

a little more regularity in the disbursements of the Presidency and further savings must undoubtedly lessen the public debt at interest, it is more than probable the Board will at last be compelled to adopt my visionary scheme of lowering the interest on the public loans to five per cent.—a scheme by which I drew upon myself no small degree of reflection. And as I took all the merit of it to myself without participating with the Council, I met with an unanimous opposition from all the members. However, the following advice will evince I was right. The notes of '70 have been discharged and publication made for calling in those of '71. A doubt arising of the public ability to effect this it was intimated the Treasury would be open for loans at five per cent. Upon this intimation (which was afterwards declared to be made without public authority) a variety of tenders were made of monies at five per cent. and rejected upon the plea that the public did not want to borrow money nor had published for loans at that rate. In short a pretext (nothing more) was proposed to be deduced by such a proceeding entirely for disappointing the Company and making my proposition to appear wholly speculative and by no means practicable. But in this the gentlemen were deceived, for under all discouraging circumstances and a positive declaration that the Board meant not to take any monies that should be offered at five per cent, the first step towards calling in the bonds spite of themselves produced tenders of money sufficient to shew that they could, if they pleased, have reduced the whole public debt from 8 to 5 per cent. on the day they began to call in the bonds. The contradictions in the last resolutions of the Board are so curious that you will possibly think the extract enclosed worthy your perusal. The public finances being in so good a situation and the reduction of interest on loans become unavoidable, you must, Beaumont, by some means or other draw your monies out of my hands. Besides, as I have not lately kept my health so well as heretofore, I may be obliged despite of my inclinations to take a trip to Europe, in which case I would not by any means advise its remaining in India. The expenses of the Settlement are so excessive and no person choosing to retrench lest it impair his credit, that a very few years will reduce a man from opulence to beggary should he meet with misfortune. From the steps I have taken to realise money in England you may perceive my determined resolution of leaving nothing behind me that I can put my fingers upon when I am about to leave this country, for I think it is better to realise a certain fortune however small than to live on expectations that are subject to disappointment. I have given you my sentiments on your money concerns and request your positive instructions in what manner I am to dispose of them. I see no opportunity at present, and if none offers, shall I send you the whole in bullion or how?

I am sensible of the kindness of your intentions and convinced from the

friendship you have indulged me with that you will consult my advantage solely in not returning the French bills protested. I entirely approve of what you have hitherto done in that respect, but enjoin you if the bills are not wholly paid when this letter arrives, you will return them protested for such part as remains due or compel the parties who may be in Europe to complete their discharge. I flatter myself, however, from your account of the bills that the whole will be paid with the interest due upon them before this letter reaches you, because it is more than probable should the bills be returned they will come to my hands when Middleton shall have left Bengal. The insolvency of Middleton, Ellis and Chevalier in case of a French war is in my opinion very probable, besides the two former may become so by the want of principle in the latter. A demurr to the payment of the bill may be made by Chevalier and should Middleton and Ellis proceed to compel him the transaction is capable of being litigated to their ruin and disappointment. Look to Mr. Dupleix. What Englishman received satisfaction from him and then consider the possibility how Mr. Law and Chevalier may be treated by the French Government. They never can be free men, they are the creatures of the Ministry, and their wealth is in the power of the Crown.

In the bill I send home for the proceeds of coral I will try to pass some of your money. The bill, as you direct, shall be payable to you and you, my good friend, must secure me by a proper investment.

My sister is so very sanguine in all her pursuits that I hope you will excuse the seeming importunity and impatience of her applications to you. She ought to know I am sure my confidence and reliance upon you and I am sure she entertains a respect for you as my friend. If, therefore, she has given you offence, excuse it for my sake. You really, Beaumont, do not flatter yourself in supposing my sentiments of friendship for you the same as ever; it would be an injustice to me to think otherwise.

Annexed I send you a sketch of the monies which should have passed through your hands and will remain with you.

I am etc.,

The purport of what appears upon the public records of the Bengal Presidency between the 10th February and beginning of May 1773 respecting the reduction of the debt at interest and lowering the premium of interest on that debt.

"The Board wanted to pay off their bond debt and finding that many persons were desirous of lending their money to the Company at five per cent. it was thought an eligible way to receive as much at this rate as could not be supplied from their own resources to enable them to discharge the bonds of a prior date to December 1770, which in the whole amounted to near 13 lacks, but no publication was made that the Council would receive money at 5

per cent; it was done merely by order to the Sub-Treasurer to receive all that should be tendered at that rate of interest.

The bonds prior to December 1770 being discharged it was doubtful whether a sum equal to the amount of the bonds of 1771, which is very considerable, would be offered at the Treasury at 5 per cent. It was, therefore, resolved to stop all receipts, but that the Sub-Treasurer should take an account of all monies tendered and report whether they nearly amounted to the sum of the bonds in question."

Account of the monies and securities of Richard Barwell in the hands of his attorneys, Messrs. Beaumont and Leycester.

November 30th, 1771.

Blance of account in Mr. Beaumont's hands but not signed

by him or Mr. Leycester	...	...	£470-18-3
Bank stock £1,000 consol valued at 87	...	...	870-

			1,340-18-3
The balance of my father's legacy about	...	...	1,773- 1-7
My mother's jointure, my 11th share of 33,400 consol Bank stock			
valued at what my late brother Roger's share sold for	...	2,646-13-7	
Prime cost of a remittance by Captain George Thompson	...	1,262- 5-9	
Chevalier's Bill running at interest—months' after sight	...	11,666-13-4	
Remittance by Captain Mercer <i>vid</i> China in Company's Bills	...	3,499-9-10	
A bond of Capt. Deffel's payment acknowledged	...	400	
L. Oliver's Bill on R. Ladbroke	...	100	
Bill on the Company transmitted December 1772	...	4,100	
2 Bills of Ellis's on Mayne and Needham each for £11,250 running			
at interest—months' after sight	...	22,500	

£49,289-2-4

President and Council of Fort William Bill in favor of Lt.-Col.

Morgan endorsed to me for	820
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£50,109-2-4

Orders of Richard Barwell to be paid by Messrs. Beaumont and

Lycester: Bills in favor Senior and Jeykll	...	9,025-15-11
Order in favor Mrs. Barwell	...	4,000
Do. Do. Do.	...	20,000
Balance remaining with my attorneys	...	17,085- 6- 5

£50,109- 2- 4

N. B. I take no notice of my letters of credit in favor of Mr. Henry Frederick Thompson or the sum of £600 Capt. Morgan has taken up, because I do suppose the interest on my monies and securities will amply provide for them and every incidental charge. Errors excepted.

No. 365.

TO W. BENSLEY AND J. PRICE, ESQS.

DACCA,

28th September 1774.

GENTLEMEN,

In consequence of Mr. Lambert's death Mr. Barwell begs the favour of you to take the necessary measures to recover the balance due on the decrees he obtained in December last against Mr. Lambert, which being done in his life-time Mr. Barwell does not doubt of being first paid in preference to any other creditor who may now recover judgments against his estate after his death; for further information on this head be pleased to refer to Mr. Brix.

One Sabdy who was formerly serang of Mr. Barwell's pinnace but acted latterly only as a tyndal ran away a few day ago much in debt to the *Princes'* crew, and it is imagined he is gone to Calcutta. Mr. Barwell therefore begs the favour of Mr. Price to order an enquiry to be made after him, and if found to secure him or send him to Dacca by some safe conveyance.

J. CATOR.

No. 366.

DACCA,

TO MR. FRANCIS PEACOCK.

28th September 1774.

SIR,

Your letter of the 1st September reached me a few days ago, and I am sorry it affords me so much reason to retract the confidence I placed in your words at the period of time. You influenced me to make you an advance for the quantity of 2000 timbers. You may remember, Sir, that you told me at the time that most part of the wood was lying at Nowabgunge, and that I might depend on the whole being passed the Jellingee as soon as the rivers opened to allow their passage through that river. Upon this information I proposed to you an immediate despatch of 1000 of the timbers to Dacca as boats might go there at any season of the year, and as the timber was ready for despatch it would prove equally convenient to you and me. You acquiesced to the proposition with a readiness that gave assurance of

the sincerity of your intentions to answer my expectations. And depending on your promise when I came to Dacca I engaged for the delivery of these 1000 timbers, not doubting but they would arrive with me by the month of March. I was deceived not only in this, but likewise in admitting you to extend the period of time by which the wood was all to have been delivered to the month of December in your written agreement, which you may remember I was induced to do solely upon your representing to me that from unavoidable delays it might so happen that you could not import all the wood so early in the season as you had proposed in conversation, a circumstance which in case of accident to me might occasion all the wood you did import to be returned upon your hands, because there might be a small balance unimported, and this you said you wished to avoid the possibility of, for although you were sufficiently apprised and confident that I could not take such an advantage to annul the contract, you could not tell what might happen in case of accidents to me and my affairs falling into the hands of attorneys. Having recapitulated these facts I need only request you to revert to them and to ask yourself whether I have reason to be satisfied or dissatisfied with your conduct in fulfilling your timber contract.

Your bond for 80000 A. Rs. I have received. There is no time specified for its payment nor is it expressed payable on demand. How far this may affect its validity is a question my lawyer must solve. Before I received it I had written to my attorneys enclosing an account of the salt and transmitting a bond for you to execute as I expected, you were shortly to be in Calcutta. The answer was incomplete as one of your receipts for the salt was wanting to fix the period of its arrival. When you go to Calcutta you will receive the account.

Nos. 367-68.

Dacca, 1774. Sept. 30. Bills of Exchange. Of no interest.

No. 369.

To the Hon'ble WARREN HASTINGS.

DACCA,

29th September 1774.

HON'BLE SIR,

I enclose you an address from Lieutenant Ardens and request the favour of you to order a General Court Martial on the Jemidar complained against, as the officers of his corps are his prosecutors and cannot without subjecting the Service to much difficulty attend here. The Station of Chittagong and

Luckipore will supply what few officers may be necessary to add to those at Dacca to form the Court. You will possibly ask why cannot the Dacca Sepoy Officers as well be sent to Chittagong or Luckipore as officers from thence to Dacca. Because the Dacca Station will in no case be left without officers and a few from Chittagong only are necessary.

Nos. 370—76.

Dacca, 1774. Oct. 6.	J. Cator to Wm. Barton.	Of no interest.
" " " 9.	" to R. W. Wood.	"
" no date.	" to Chas. Parling.	"
" 1774. Oct. 27.	" to Geo. Robertson.	"
" " " 30.	" to Andrew Morony	"
" " Nov. 10.	" to R. W. Wood.	"
" " " 28.	" to A. Morony.	"

NO. 377.

TO MRS. MARY BARWELL.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

MY DEAR SISTER,

Since my last letters I have been at leisure to examine the account you sent me under date the 9th April 1773. The remarks which occur to me upon them you will find in a separate paper enclosed. You will perceive your accounts are only deficient in mercantile method and in that clearness and perspicuity required in accounts, which for want of it must always be unintelligible excepting to the persons who are fully acquainted with the transactions on which they are founded, and a little method becomes now more necessary from the importance of the sums which fall under your management, and which will increase as opportunities of remitting my fortune to Europe may offer.

In my letter of the 10th September 1773, I proposed to share with my brother James in half and half proportions whatever might be the amount of my deceased brother's estate in England, and after such division to have paid him whatever balance might be due of the legacy of £20,000 in Bengal. In my letter of 20th October, I altered that intention thinking from a letter wrote to me by James that he would rather receive the whole amount of his legacy in India, and I was the more induced to this, because I was anxious to throw into your hands as much money as possible in order to prevent any diminution of that consequence which I judged might depend upon your having a ready

compend of money which otherwise you would not have had, as the property of our family to a large amount was locked up and useless by Sir George Colebrooke's failure. In this persuasion and under the apprehension that the bills I had sent to my attorneys might be returned I sent home on the shipping of last season at a great loss specie to remedy any difficulty you might labor under for want of cash.

By your letters lately received I find the bill of Chavalier's belonging to Roger's estate has been delivered to our brother James, and that he has received upon it five thousand odd hundred pounds. From this I conclude that James has changed his mind and wishes to have the whole of his legacy paid in England. I think some consideration is due to me in this particular, and that James should share with me as I at first proposed especially as he will have a opportunity of realising what may be due upon the legacy and paid in India by his vorage to Bengal. This I expect he will acquiesce in, as I have so amply considered him in the proposition, and he knows I am under the greatest difficulties in obtaining remittances for my own fortune and more so, as the remittances I made for Roger might have been effected for myself and would have been but from consideration to Roger who wrote to me pressing to send him some money. For these reasons I look to your holding for me whatever may be the half porportion of the estate of my deceased brother in England, but should James want money for his vorage it is my desire he may be supplied by you upon his bond.

I shall now proceed to state what monies of mine ought to come into your hands if the orders on my attorneys in your favor, remittances and orders for remittances are made good.

Orders on my attorneys of which you have received	£10000	
as per advice from Mr. Beaumont	...	24000
Specie remitted in the course of last season computed to coin at least	...	11000
A Bill of Exchange on Potter in your favor drawn by Price	...	1500
The half of the estate of our deceased brother computed	...	9591-6-7
The balance of my account proper of April 1773 the credit is £449-16—the debit £59-5-2. balance is	...	390-10-19
Total		£46,481-17-5

Doubtful remittances, *viz* :—

Exclusive of these sums I sent to China Rs. 48,357 if a remittance from thence is effected it will not produce less and possibly more than	...	£5000
By the shipping of this year <i>via</i> Bombay about	...	1100
Total of what will be my fortune in your hands if every remittance is made good	...	£ 52581-17-5

This statement which is clear and explicit depends as to justness upon the realising the several articles of which it is composed, but whether all the articles shall be fully realised or not, I trust such a number of them will as to afford a fund the interest of which will yield me a handsome annual income. And from this income I appropriate the sum of £400 per annum to be received by you for your own and sole use and do hereby authorise you to receive the same and debit my account for it annually in quarterly payments looking upon it to all intents and purposes to be fixt irrevocably to you for your life, and if you survive me to be at your own free will and disposal by legal testimony to whomsoever you may choose to bequeath it at your demise. A deed for this purpose as soon as I arrive in Calcutta shall be drawn, but in case of any accident to me before that period I hereby declare the gift to be made in as full and ample a manner as if mentioned in my will and testament which may appear after my demise. And my executors or administrators are hereby enjoined to attend to the same and to deliver into your hands or any person duly authorised by you Bank stock the principal of which shall at the time of making over such stock yield at least four hundred pounds per annum to be at your own and entire disposal as you shall think proper to appropriate it.

In my letter of——— I desired my attorneys, Messrs. Beaumont and Leycester, to pay you annually £400 per annum (four hundred pounds.) This order I now cancell and revoke, as the payment of the said sum is now vested in your own hands and will from henceforth be made by yourself to yourself. Of this you will give information to my attorneys by transmitting them an extract of my letter or by such other manner as you may think proper.

When I was in Calcutta in July last, Col. McLean mentioned to me the obligation he lay under to you for the loan you made to him, that he had it not in his power to liquidate it before, but would take the present opportunity which the Company's limited indulgences of remittances to their servants afforded him to pay off what he could. You may, therefore, expect by the shipping of the present season Company's bills, if not for the whole, at least of a part of the Colonel's debt. When the Colonel spoke to me on this subject he dwelt with much warmth on your kindness, expressed concern at the possibility of his having created to you some inconvenience by the payment of his notes being unavoidably delayed. It was, however, some ease he added for him to know your money was secured by the insurance upon his life ; otherwise he should have felt the severest uneasiness and some anxiety of mind on that account when his health lately was in so declining a state. I replied to the Colonel as to an obligation, Sir, I apprehend such to be conferred by you on my family in services rendered to me in securing

those essential points my friends had in view to obtain for me from the Company and begged he would permit me to repeat the thanks I expressed to him when I first saw him for the part he had taken in my concerns. I then added that I had received letters from you covering attested copies of his bonds with a power to see the obligations answered when he might be in a capacity to do it, but that it was not my intention to have mentioned the subject. My reliance on his honor and the sense of the services he had rendered me being such as to assure me that when it suited his convenience I should doubtless hear from him. With many other civil and friendly expressions our conversation on this topic terminated, and I make no doubt, fully to his satisfaction, as I hope and think it will be to yours who are most materially concerned, though I do not conceive as matters are circumstanced you have the least reason to be apprehensive on the score of Colonel MacLean's debt. You shall, however, hear further from me as soon as I can ascertain the amount of the remittance the Colonel determines to make.

Your repeated recommendation to me to accord with Hastings, if possible, was not necessary, as I can assure you upon my honor the occasions of difference between us that did exist were not sought for by me, but proceeded wholly from the jealousy of his own temper which cannot yield to another the least share of reputation that might be derived in the conduct of his Government. Unreasonable as it may be he expects the abilities of all shall be subservient to his views and implicitly rely upon him for the degree of merit, if any, he may be pleased to allow them in the administration of Government. A character that did not depend on the credit it should bear in the public estimation on his praise, could not of course stoop to rest its pretensions merely on his approval, nor can I trace that to his contemporaries even he has vouchsafed to give the credit or merit of any of the public measures. The new system, however, is to affect his Government. The wishes of our mutual friends and my own inclinations have effected the point which otherwise would have been labored at in vain, and with MacLean's and Stewart's endeavours concurring I flatter myself an uninterrupted cordiality may be established. Sincere on my part I am sure it will rest with Hastings to preserve or to break it, while the determined line of conduct I pursue shall point out to my friends and Mr. Sullivan in particular, the dependence that may be placed on me, and with how great a degree of confidence they may rely upon a steady and invariable attention in me to the views of my friends. Pique and resentment and every other weakness or improper bias of the mind is so simple an ingredient in the composition of a character that I am surprised when I hear of men who allow its influence to lead them in opposition to their best friends. As for myself I can safely say that whatever my resentment may be, and however much I may detest a man, I should not scruple

to answer any expectations formed by my friends, or feel a repugnance, in acting with him, because I should always keep in mind in that case that I did not ask for him, but acted with him for those to whom I am under an obligation to render utmost services. A communication both with Purling and Sullivan on this point I would recommend, in which you will take an opportunity of vouching that in a political capacity I am free from the influence of any particular resentments, and that my first and only object ever was and is to act consistent with reason and discretion and to pursue with deviation in those views which I once adopt of my friends. This being intimated by you will have more weight than all the letters I write for the intimacy of friendship in which we have lived, may naturally be supposed to have given you the most perfect knowledge of my character and disposition.

As to the succession which you write me you are flattered with by Mr. Robinson. It is so very distant that I at present do not think of waiting. I confess it is an honor I should be proud of, and could it be ascertained to me I would doubtless wait for it, but it is so precarious that I can scarcely indulge the thought. I like India it is true, but as I cannot help esteeming it a kind of banishment, the only inducement for me to stay in it now is the hope of some degree of credit in the administration of the new Government. If I see no prospect of this or of serving the friends I have in India you will certainly see me before the expiration of my five years.

The propensity which you point out among the ruling parties in England to take advantage of every incident they can obtain a knowledge of to promote particular ends without attending to them further than as a means to profit themselves at the expense of the gentlemen in India, that I cannot but be anxious respecting my correspondence with Mr. Russell and references to the Council of Calcutta on that occasion, and to request even if that has been spoken of by you, it may now to the utmost of your power be suppressed and lost in oblivion, for it being a good deal of a private nature and likely to give an opening to question individuals as well as the administration without doing me the least service. It is most prudent to let the whole matter pass over. The friends of Dr. Russell and others, I think, must wish it, and it is as discreet to make as few enemies as possible. Besides Hastings must naturally be angered by it as well as Graham, while the public cannot receive any advantage from it as things are circumstanced.

My letters already with you in England have communicated my ideas on the practicability of lowering the premium of interest from 8 to 5 per cent. on the Company's bond debt in Bengal. What I foresaw has come to pass that the state of affairs here would oblige the Government to lessen its debt and by contracting it immediately point out to the Direction the justness of the grounds on which I promulgated the scheme and the futility of the

objections that were urged against it because it was mine. It is the nature of many things to discover themselves, and where the magnitude of them points out the impossibility of concealment, it is a strange perverseness to imagine that an attempt at deception will not be detected and exposed. I give you what has passed at the Council Board respecting the Company's bond debt in Bengal with my animadversions on the proceedings in a separate paper enclosed, and this may be communicated to any friends you think proper, as the subject is of so very public a nature.

The war in which the Vizier, Suja-ul-Dowla, is engaged with the Rohilla Chiefs, and for the prosecution of which he applied to our Government for aid, is from the very nature of the connexion and the subject itself likely to be placed in a variety of views to the animadversions of people in England, for the object may be seen in different lights and descanted upon according to the partial prejudice of individuals unacquainted with the first principle of good policy in every state, the increase of its internal strength and its powers of external defence. To accomplish the first a well-regulated economy and military force that can act upon the offensive, is necessary; to effect the last, a barrier strong against all foreign powers and weak as to the English Government, must be obtained; and to do this the Government need only introduce its own military forces into the establishments of the neighbouring princes, who in proportion to the number of English troops they entertain, must make a reform of their own, and, of course, when the English withdraw their troops, the diminution that was made in their own when the English were in their pay and service, will leave them entirely defenceless against the English; while during the time they continue the English troops on their establishments, they will be proportionately strong and respectable against every other power. Suja-ul-Dowla from our assistance will not in fact become stronger as to us while he pays nearly one fourth of our whole military expenses and engages to compensate the Company with 40 lacks. For this consideration an entire brigade acts in the field as his auxiliaries and is now employed in limiting and fixing the Rohilla power. The scene is confined to the northern banks of the Ganges, it being expressly stipulated that the English troops do not pass the river. In this situation our military force continues without any diminution, and, in an instant, may be called within the limits of our own provinces. In the mean time the part that is on service is paid by a foreign power, the whole expence is saved to us and 40 lacks besides put into our Treasury. This is certainly an object and a very consequential one when money is so much wanted and so much called for.

Mr. Baillie is arrived and with him his very curious appointment. I conceive the whole to have sprung from his own bewildered imagination and the idea of duping the public. I told him very plainly that my wish to

oblige him on account of my sister Fanny would (as he might be assured) induce me to exert myself to obtain him a public nomination to Gualparah, and in any other way to assist his views there, but that I would on no pretence countenance any attempt he might make to possess himself of the Company's property to answer his own purposes. He is now nominated to Gualparah, and the prosecution of the trade left to his own discretion with his own means, but as I fear, as the publick do not entrust their property to his management and engage not in the commerce of Gualparah, that Mr. Baillie will find himself extremely mistaken, and that Gaulparah is not such a Peru to him as he wished to make the Directors think it might be made to the Company.

The foregoing was written a month ago. Since then the members of the new Government and all your subsequent letters to me are arrived. I imagined from the hints you gave me to have found General Clavering as well as Messrs. Monson and Francis firmly disposed to co-operate with the Governor-General. I was, of course, surprised to find that on so early a day as the second of our meeting, measures should be proposed indicating the most hostile intentions towards the Governor-General and on a subject which it was impossible those gentlemen could be masters of, as they had neither time nor means to inform themselves of its nature or the variety of matters involved. Without reading the records or condescending to ask information, propositions were offered and voted upon with all the precipitancy which the gentlemen impute to their zeal and apprehensions for the orders of the Company and the public safety, but which I place to the account of a predetermined preconcerted system of opposition or rule to be carried on by these three gentlemen. And that they immediately attacked the Rohilla war and censured the late administration upon it, because they censured the Governor-General most valuable there, or at least that it was the best field for argument and caviling that offered. When I can methodise the facts into a kind of narrative I will give them to you connectedly; till then you must be satisfied with my telling you that on this occasion I am with the Governor-General whose ideas are certainly right, whatever light they may be represented in, and whatever may be thought of them in Europe. As to the first engagements that is another question on which the Company must have decided long since, and could not be considered when the consequences alone deriving from them were the objects of deliberation. The measure which had produced certain consequences was past and could not be revoked. The consideration then could only be whether we should benefit from a measure impossible to be retracted or not benefit from it. If we are to benefit from it, reason undoubtedly points to the pursuit of the most probable means of securing those benefits, and to this end are all my arguments on the side of the Governor-General.

The style, words and manner of Mr. Francis's minutes are very blameable, and as Hastings felt himself much hurt and seemed to wish me to touch upon the indignity he suffered, I have taken occasion to notice it, so as to point it out to the public without giving cause of offence to Mr. Francis, either by the harshness of my manner, or by my expression of disapprobation. It is difficult to surmise how these jarrings will terminate if they continue. It is easy to see that the public business must be obstructed in a great degree, as every measure proposed will be regarded with that diffidence and distrust inseparable from the minds of men determined on a systematical opposition.

Adieu for the present and, believe me, with the most unfeigned attachment, My dear Sister etc.

Remarks on Mrs. Mary Barwell's account with Richard Barwell dated 9th April 1773.

In Mrs. Barwell's account with Richard Barwell she debits herself for the following loans without its appearing on the face of the account from whence the money was procured.

On a promissory note on demand 6th October 1772	...	950
Cash lent for £1,500 East India stock @ 162½ with commission 1-17-6	... ..	2435-12-6
Richard Barwell's proper accounts could be stated thus. To his credit the balance due to him on the last account and the further receipts of money to April 1773 as is done in Mrs. Barwell's account		
	... ..	449-16
The balance of the estate of Roger Barwell transferred to credit of Richard Barwell the heir	... ..	2047- 6-6½
		<hr/> 2497- 2-6½
From this amount the articles disbursed by Mrs. Barwell for Richard Barwell should be deducted	... ..	59- 5-2
		2437-17-4½
Difference between the loans and Richard Barwell's means to make loans to such an amount	... ..	947-15-1½

Therefore by placing this balance to the debit of Richard Barwell and credit of Mrs. B. it appears as if she had never received the money. If this was the case, and it cannot be traced that it was not the case, for what reason is a sum of money said to be borrowed that was never lent? If it was borrowed it must have first been borrowed on account of Richard Barwell and from him by Mrs. Mary Barwell. In this case he should have been credited for the money taken up in his name and his account would have appeared

clear. But as the account stands at present Mrs. Barwell passed a note the 6th October 1772 for £950 and to the 9th April 1773 she had only received upon it £2-4-10½ there being due at this time upon the note she passed £9-17-15-1½ to make up the loan of £950

Accounts of the estate of Roger Barwell should have all the particular disbursements necessarily incurred inserted in them as far as those disbursements relate to debts etc. incurred by Roger Barwell and the account should be signed by Mrs. Barwell executrix by appointment of Richard Barwell sole executor.

Besides the cash account of the estate a list of all bills, bonds and securities is requisite.

The estate of Roger Barwell from the papers before Richard Barwell stands thus :

James Barwell the amount of his receipt	...	...	1500
Richard Barwell the balance of the estate's cash account			2047-6-6½

List of Bills and Securities.

Chevalier's Bill 1772 running at———interest———	
months' after sight, this bill endorsed Robinson and Crawford	2968-13-3½
Chevalier's bill 1771 at———interest———months' sight	
securities Middleton and Ellis	...
	11666-13 4

There will be upwards of two years' interest on the Bill for £11666-13-4 and one year's interest on the other: this may be computed at least

... .. 1000

Monies of the estate of Roger Barwell in England
supposing the securities realised

... .. 19182-1-2

N. B. Roger Barwell, if I am not mistaken, carried with him in the privilege of some of the officers of the ship he took his passage upon from 5 to £7000 (seven hundred pounds) exclusive of which he received the full amount of his father's legacy. If these sums are expended information of these being so will be satisfactory.

N. B. Supposing Messrs. Beaumont and Leycester to have realised on my account all the bills and securities transmitted by me and to have paid from the monies realised the orders I have at times given them a balance will remain with them of about £15,000.

Thus the amount of my estate in Mrs. Mary Barwell's hands and Leycester and Beaumont's hands will be about £67,581-17-5, that is, supposing a division of Roger's estate between me and my brother James in England.

Abstract of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Bengal from 10th February 1774 to May 1774 touching the reduction of the Bengal debt

at interest and the lowering the rate of interest on that debt from 8 to 5 per cent. with strictures on those Proceedings.

"The purport of what appears from the public records of the Bengal proceedings from the 10th February to the beginning of May 1774 respecting the reduction of the Company's debt at interest in Bengal and the lowering the premium of interest on that debt.

"The Board wanted to pay off their bond debt, and finding that many persons were desirous of lending their money to the Company at five per cent. it was thought an eligible way to receive as much at this rate as could not be supplied from their own resources, to enable them to discharge the bonds of a prior date to December 1770 which, in the whole, amounted to near 13 lacks, but no publication was made that the Company would receive money at 5 per cent. It was done merely by an order to the Sub-Treasurer to receive all that should be offered at that rate of interest.

Remarks on the above.

When the public had in the Treasury to the amount of 13 lacks, it appears unnecessary and superfluous to propose raising a further sum to discharge that amount, and this gives reason to suppose the resolution merely formed in the hope that no tender of money would have been made to the Company at 5 per cent. A private order to the Treasurer which the public Board did not avow, might justly be imagined to produce no effect, which it was calculated to carry on the face of the records that it was the Board's intention to borrow money at that rate of interest, had any monies been tendered to them. Two purposes were, therefore, doubtless intended to be answered by this proceeding. The first that Mr. Barwell's proposition in April 1773 for lowering the rate of interest to 5 per cent. was a visionary scheme, as no monies were procurable at that rate of interest which appeared by the partial experiment the Board had made. The second that as the Company's treasury did not afford the resources to call in the bonds running at 8 per cent. the demand for payment of those bonds could not possibly have been answered; consequently that Mr. Barwell's scheme recorded in April 1773, however plausible, would (if embraced) have involved the Government in inextricable difficulty and given a severe blow to the credit of the Company. Mr. Barwell, however, was better acquainted with the affluence of the Settlement, and the particular circumstances of individuals who could not draw their money out of the public Treasury than to bring upon himself the disgrace which must have followed the detection of his proposal being merely speculative. The proceedings of the Council in this particular the more unfair and uncandid those, appear the more unanswerably do they establish that gentleman's judgment in his proposition of April 1773. For under every discouraging circumstance, without any public advertisement issued by the Board the

small opening that was afforded to the wishes of individuals to lodge their property with the Company, produced numberless tenders. The first tenders were accepted under the idea that their acceptance would discourage the application of individuals when they found their tenders received, and of course, that the amount of those tenders would not arise to a sum so considerable as to warrant the Board in risking such a measure as was proposed by Mr. Barwell in April 1773. But in this the Council were mistaken, for the receipt of the first tenders induced numberless others and reduced the Council to the dilemma of either proceeding or checking by some more direct means the security individuals sought by lodging their property with the Company. This situation produced the following resolution.

"The bonds prior to December 1770 being discharged it was doubtful whether a sum equal to the amount of the bonds of 1771 which is very considerable would be offered at the Treasury at 5 per cent. It was, therefore, resolved to stop all receipts; but that the Sub-Treasurer should take an account of all monies tendered and report whether they nearly amounted to the sum of the bonds in question."

This resolution was extremely reprehensible in the two following important respects; first by rejecting all tenders and not publishing the pretended cautionary principle which induced the Board to reject them, as well as the not giving public assurance to those who under such circumstances should offer money at 5 per cent. to a preference in the new loans. Individuals were taught to believe that the rejection of their tenders of money at 5 per cent. declared the intention of Government to keep their old securities unchanged, and of course, there being no public declaration that a preference would be given to those who first tendered loans at 5 per cent. upon any change being made in the old securities, they were naturally discouraged from making any offers, as those must appear to them needless as well as impertinent; besides the dread with which they might be impressed of partial measures. The other respect is the Government by its mode of proceeding require specie to an equal amount of its paper currency in notes. Those who hold notes, of course, are deprived of contributing their parts in accepting new notes for their old ones, and the public is subjected to the unnecessary and extraordinary difficulty of doubling the principal of its old debt, before it proceeds to lower the premium of interest upon it. Whereas the renewing the paper currency of the Settlement at a smaller premium of interest and removing the obstacle which is obvious in the execution of the present scheme, though certainly more practicable and easy, has been entirely neglected. The Government without taking any declared measures, or using a private influence to obtain a new loan which they deem necessary first to be obtained before they can liquidate their old debt, by this proceeding, in fact, discouraged those tenders which have been made by individuals anxious to obtain public

security for their money. Besides were public declared measures taken to this end, and individuals encouraged to lend their money to the public, what necessity is there for such measures? Is it to evince that the Company if they please can double their present debt? Else why are not the present bond-holders called upon to renew their notes at the low premium of 5 per cent. or to receive their amount? This would have forced them to the necessity of a renewal of their notes at 5 per cent., or by throwing so much surplus specie into circulation which the merchants would not have known how to have employed, it would inevitably have returned back into the Treasury upon whatever terms the Government had thought proper for its acceptance. Upon the whole, therefore, it is apparent that the reduction of the premium of interest on the present debt was not the object of the Council, though the Council have undoubtedly calculated their measures to carry that appearance, while, in fact, they had the contra tendency and have been pursued merely with a view to question the feasibility of Mr. Barwell's scheme for lowering the rate of interest to 5 per cent. Despite, however, of all discouragements so many tenders have been made by the merchants, though all tenders were rejected on the above resolution of the Board, that the Administration can no longer protract calling in the notes of 1771. And when I was in Calcutta in August last, publication was about to be issued that the notes bearing date from the first of January 1771 to the 31st June 1771 should be discharged, and the bond-holders by a fixt day to tender them at the Treasury for payment, for from that period all interest should cease to accumulate upon them. Hence it is evident the Council were desirous to impeach Mr. Barwell's scheme as visionary and continue the property of such as were interested at the high rate of interest of 8 per cent. upon public security, as if their measures, unpromising, as they were, had success beyond their expectations to derive reputation to themselves for such success, and by dwelling on the superfluous caution which was necessary to secure the credit of the Government, to preclude the first proposals of the scheme (Mr. Barwell) from his just share of merit and participation in the subsequent execution of it under such a variety of discouraging circumstances.

Note in the margin :—

79,89,312	0	4	8 per cent.
15,15,153	8	6	5 per cent.
5,36,343	1	3	remaining in the Treasury without interest.

100,90,808 10 1

21,01,696 9 9 Bonds paid off in the course of the year 1773-

74. Besides paying off these bonds the whole sum due to the Restitution Fund has been issued from the Treasury.

No. 375.

TO HENRY SAVAGE, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged by your confidential and friendly letters of 30th October and 27th December 1773 and 3rd February 1774. The change to take place in the Government of this Settlement by the Act of the Legislature is now effected, and the new powers established by the arrival of the members of the new administration. How far the innovation may be productive of advantages to the Company and nation, time alone must unravel, for it is impossible at this early period to form a conjecture of the benefits to be derived from so novel a system. One good consequence, however, must flow to the public in the political management which the old system was not adapted to, that is, centering in one view the political objects of the different Presidencies in the alliances hereafter to be formed with the Princes of India. You will not, as heretofore, have one Presidency engaged in a war with the very Power with which another is contracting an alliance, but the national strength of each united under one head will be made to operate conjointly in promoting the general benefit of the whole. Of course in this respect the security of the public peace and the success of our arms when engaged in a war, is better provided for.

The situation of Suja-ul-Dowlah, since my last letters, is much changed, and a political plan laid down by the old administration and conducted with success, has tended greatly to give security to this country with respect to all foreign invaders, while it leaves him in relation to our Government equally vulnerable as before. But after all the pains taken to give him a good natural barrier against the Mharattas, I am not without my apprehensions that some late precipitate measures carried by our new colleagues, may defeat the end which has been laboured, and, in a degree, obtained by a course of prosperity which the internal feuds of the Mharatta Government facilitated. The time seized for executing the projects formed by the Vizier was well chosen, and the full employment of the Mharattas at home by their intestine divisions, gave full leisure to execute all that was proposed for the Vizier's future security in that quarter. Whatever objections might have been started with reason to involving the Government in the first instance in the Vizier's schemes, yet when those schemes have been successful, the measures to be subsequently pursued should doubtless have been to give permanency to the advantages acquired, and not to have risked those advantages by precipitate resolutions which neither policy nor necessity dictated. It is a strange kind of zeal in men totally ignorant, uninformed and utter strangers to

the political interests of the country, to argue upon the letter of the Company's orders, without regarding their spirit, that an absolute good really obtained is not to be supported, because in their opinions the old administration stepped rather beyond the line prescribed by the Company. This is certainly more specious than solid for admitting the old administration wrong in stepping beyond a prescribed line. The propriety of their conduct was not the object of their deliberation, but how far the good resulting from such conduct was to be the object of the new Government. This our colleagues loose sight of and seem only anxious to fix an imputation on the boldness of the measures determined by the late Government which had fully operated and could not be revoked. For your further information I give to your perusal some detached minutes on the subject which it is not in my power at present to connect, both for want of time and a ready reference to the records engaged in the hands of copyists to be prepared for Europe by this ship. As I had no part in the resolutions of the former administration, being precluded from their debates by my distant situation at Dacca, my sentiments are totally unbiassed in the support I now give to their measures,—measures which it is possible I might not have come into at the time from difficulties that might then have struck me, but to which it is now impossible to object, as prosperity has marked them with the strongest stamp of propriety and dissipated every apprehension that might, in the first instance, have been entertained of their consequences.

The savings of full one fourth of your whole military expenses and the wealth exclusively acquired by political connexions with the Vizier make our finances in a flourishing state and must happily retrieve your affairs, should they not be involved by the precipitate resolutions that have been passed touching our connexions with the Vizier. It is to be hoped, however, that affairs are in such a train that our prospects of benefitting by the Vizier's successes cannot be defeated. I think they will not, though I wish the chance of their being effected had not arisen in the resolutions that have been risked on the subject at this critical juncture.

The Board of Commerce is just formed, and in a few days, the business of the Presidency with the appointments depending upon it will be arranged. They are necessarily protracted till the hurry of business on the despatch of the ship is over.

The scheme I ventured for lowering the rate of interest on the Company's bonds and treated as visionary, you will have a full idea of by perusing the enclosure on that subject. What has been done vindicates my sentiments, and what is to do will further confirm that I judged right of the matter.

I have the pleasure to inform you the investment of this year will be large, and that the Dacca goods provided in my Chiefship marked with my

initials on the bale tickets, are of better quality and cheaper than any you have had provided within these five years last past, and I hope the regulations I formed for those *aurungs*, if steadily adhered to, will produce to the public all the benefits I flattered myself they might derive from them. Believe me to be, etc.

No. 380.

TO JOHN CATOR, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

SIR,

Your polite and obliging letter of the 26th October claims my earliest acknowledgments and adds, if it be possible, to the inclination that prompts my friendship to your brothers. Joseph will in time, I hope, be freed from his incumbrances, and William with discretion benefit himself by the Company's service. It is difficult, however, to fix a period for the labors of any man in this country, and more so at present as the prospect is more discouraging.

Accept my thanks, Sir, for the tender of your services, and as I confide in your professions of rendering them, permit me to submit to yourself the judgment of such occasions and opportunities as may offer for the exertion of your interest.

No. 381.

TO JOHN PURLING ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November, 1774

Dear Sir,

I am favored by your letters of the 4th November 1773 and 28th March 1774. The friendly freedom with which you have indulged me with your sentiments calls for my earliest acknowledgements. I feel myself obliged not only for the favors themselves, but for the manner in which they have been conferred, and as it is the happy lot of very few engaged in public life to enhance an obligation by the mode of rendering it, it appears so peculiarly your province to do all things handsomely by your friends that I must be insensible indeed to the finer feelings of the mind if I did not feel every service you have done me enhanced by the manner of doing it.

The value I have for your friendship is so connected with my own honor and prospects in life that without professions you must be persuaded of my wish to confirm you, my Friend, and that wish will, of course, lead me on every occasion to such opportunities of gratifying those in whose welfare you are

particularly interested, and whose intimate connexions with you call upon me, exclusive of all personal regard I may have for the men themselves, to watch over their interests. You will doubtless be informed by Charles of his present situation, and that it is likely to be confirmed to him by the Governor's acquiescence. How permanent it may be rendered it is difficult to affirm positively, but I think if we get over the first year there is little risk of his being maintained in the Chiefship afterwards to as long a period as he may choose to continue in it.

At your instances and the instances of my other friends I redoubled the efforts I had previously made to fix a confidential and friendly intercourse with the Governor, and the circumstances of the times concurring with my endeavours every obstacle has been removed, and we are now on the most social footing. I wish I could say as much of our associates who, I am concerned to remark, have entered on the Government with dispositions as apparently hostile to Hastings as I expected they would have been otherwise. The Rohilla war has been the subject of their cavils which, though brought to a period and the money engagements in a good train, was taken up on the second day of our meeting with a precipitation that seemed to indicate that if they had waited for information they were apprehensive of losing the opportunity of finding fault and proclaiming to all the powers of Hindustan that a new influence had with the new powers taken place in this Government. The mortification which the Governor has experienced in the recall of his Agent from the Vizier's court, the demand made for his private correspondence with Mr. Middleton after his assuring the members that he would lay before them whatever might be necessary for their information on public matters, and then proceeding to Resolutions without reading the correspondence called for and which they deemed absolutely requisite to determine them in the measures to be pursued, are such extraordinary acts that it is out of my power to account for them. The public certainly is not concerned in them, and as to zeal for the public safety that not being at risk the pretext is seen through. Were the engagements entered into by the late administration with the Vizier improper in the first instance, the measure was past irretrievable and beyond the reach of any remedy, and, of course, ought not to have been a subject for deliberation. The matter to be deliberated was what consequences are to be drawn from past measures, and what are the best means to secure the benefits to be derived from them. Instead of this, without any competent knowledge of the subject, censures were passed on what could not be rectified if wrong, and measures determined upon that must at once alarm the mind of the Vizier and risk those benefits which were flowing into the Company. The best idea I can give you of this strange and unexpected difference without making my letter intolerably long, is by furnishing you

with the most material minutes written on the occasion. I cannot connect them for want of time and a ready reference to the records. I think, however, the occurrences sufficiently marked to render the whole conversant to one, conversant as you are in India politics. I must observe before I quit this subject that I was not consulted on the measures of the late administration touching the Rohilla war, and that it is very probable if I had been I should have disapproved of the engagements in the first instance, as I might have been apprehensive of danger attending their completion, but when success has precluded the apprehension of danger, and in the fullest manner vindicated the measure, all objection is removed, and nothing is left me but to approve and to pursue the best means my judgment points to in securing the utmost advantages to be derived from the prosperous situation of our public affairs. In this sentiment I have supported the measures of the Governor-General and have the chagrin to find myself in the minority, but as the Book of Numbers here is not so infallible as in England, I flatter myself with finding my opinions approved.

Should the precipitate measures which have taken place not affect the payment of the sums stipulated by the Vizier, and he shall continue to pay one fourth of our military charges by retaining a brigade of our troops, I think in one twelve month more the Company will be extricated from all their difficulties in Bengal. There is a handsome sum in the Treasury, large payments expected from the Vizier and a saving of twenty lacs in the military charges if the Vizier keeps the brigade, all which will be applied to the liquidation of their debts: the surplus of the revenue supplying the calls for investment and bills from Bombay.

The Company's interest debt last August stood as follows:—

			Rs.	A.	P.
Bonds paid off in 1773-4 ...	...	...	21,01,696	9	9
Do. running at 8 per cent. ...	...	.	79,89,312	0	4
Do. running at five per cent ...	...	.	15,15,153	8	6
Money laying without interest ...	...	.	5,86,343	1	3
TOTAL			100,90,808	10	1

Beside the payment of bonds to the amount above specified, the whole sum due to the Restitution Fund has been issued from the Treasury. Thus you perceive what I mentioned respecting the powers of this Government, was not speculation, and that it can with attention to its means rise superior to all its incumbrances. You will receive a large provision of goods this year, but from the late arrival of the *Northumberland* and the loss of the *Asia* I very much fear we shall want tonnage, even though the two transports should be

taken up on freight. The Dacca goods you will, I flatter myself, find improved, or the trouble I have taken to retrieve that investment, will prove so much labour lost.

No. 382.

To JOHN MANSHIP, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

It is with real pleasure I seize the opportunity that is offered me, and flatter myself a literary intercourse, while a personal one is denied me, may produce that esteem and friendship I am anxious to cultivate with a person for whom my dearest friend (Mrs. Barwell) professes the warmest regard. I have been taught by long experience to place a high value on the friends she has chosen, worth parts and probity the objects of her respect marking every character distinguished by her approbation and doing equal credit and honor to every connection in which she has been pleased to engage me. I have been favored with the communication of your wishes in behalf of Mr. Wilkinson, and shall be happy on any occasion that may offer to testify my attention to your recommendation. I have taken the first opportunity to intimate this disposition to Mr. Wilkinson who, I believe, is at present situated agreeably to himself at Burdwan and perfectly satisfied with his appointment to that Subordinate.

By the public advices transmitted in this packet, you will receive accounts of the Government of this Presidency being established conformably to the Act of the Legislature, and at the same time, be concerned to find, there is not that degree of harmony in the opinions of the members who form the new Government, as might be wished for and is essential for the dispatch of the many weighty affairs which fall to their province. I would flatter myself, however, with a better understanding amongst ourselves and a greater degree of deference than has hitherto been shown to the sentiments of the Governor-General, until experience shall have rendered our new associates more competent judges of the internal political interests of this country. Such early differences, I confess, do not carry with them the most promising appearances of a future cordiality, but as I hope our object is ultimately the same, we shall accord in prosecuting it with unanimity and admit no partial aim to defeat the purposes for which we have been selected by the Legislature and placed in an eminent and conspicuous point of view to the whole nation, the eyes of which fix upon our conduct and call for an accomplishment of its expectations in services to be rendered. For my part I will frankly declare that should the

scene contrary to my hopes, prove one continued controversy that I am determined to withdraw from it, not influenced by disgust to a precipitate resignation of the post assigned me, but from conviction that I cannot fill it with honor to myself or advantage to the public. The records of the Company by this ship will give you full information of all that has passed since the change in the Government took place, and your own judgment will decide on the rectitude of the reasonings on each side of the question, and how far either may have erred in the sentiments delivered upon it. I can only observe (and it may be necessary to observe it) that I was neither consulted nor did partake in any degree in the measures determined by the old administration for prosecuting the Vizier's schemes on the Rohilla country. Of course the opinion I have delivered is not biassed by any retrospective view. When I took my seat at the Board I found the war happily brought to an issue, and certain advantages the consequences of the engagements of the late administration flowing into the Company. Not to put these to risk and to adopt a policy that might secure them to the Company, appeared to me so plain and direct a line that, without yielding my judgment to the strangers to this country, I was indispensably bound to pursue it. I considered not in this, how far the measures of the old administration were right in their first instance, but how far it might be proper to put to the risk the benefits accruing from them, benefits just presented to our reach and which alone could be rendered doubtful by the precipitancy of our own resolutions. It is possible I might not have concurred in the measures of the old administration in their first instance, as apprehensions of danger in their execution would probably have checked my assent, but when prosperity obviates that objection, I approve without hesitation the policy on which the measures were grounded and congratulate the Company as well on future as on present advantages to be derived from them.

Should the Vizier continue to bear the burthen of one fourth part of our whole military expences, and the sums stipulated by him be punctually discharged, Bengal will be extricated from all its incumbrances. Twenty one lacs of the debt at interest is already paid off. The sum due to the Restitution claimants discharged as well as Navy, and a large balance still remaining in the Treasury. This balance with the savings of one fourth of the military charges (supposing the brigade retained by the Vizier a twelve month) 25 lacs, and the sums due on the treaties with the Vizier, will go to liquidate all the bond debts. The surplus of the revenues of Bengal being equal to the furnishing cargoes for the ships and the supplies required at Bombay. This is, I believe, a very different picture from what Bengal even before presented and verifies all that I have long affirmed, that there were powers in this Government under proper management to answer fully the expectations of

the Company and of the Government of England. May no dissensions interrupt the revenue or political economy of the country I fervently pray.

No. 383.

TO LAWRENCE SULLIVAN, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

My dear Sir,

My last letters, I fear, did not encourage the wish you had formed for a cordial and confidential union between your friends. You must allow me the freedom to rank myself as such as well as Mr. Hastings who, though better known to you, is not more anxious than myself to be approved of that number.

My unremitted endeavours, the circumstances of the times, and a similarity of views, I am happy to assure you, has now firmly bound the Governor and me reciprocally to each other. The bottom on which I have established our confidence is, I think, so fixt that I hesitate not to prophesy, it will be the firmest attachment and the most stable he has formed since his last return to India, and as I am confident we must be mutual friends I have nothing to wish or desire in which I do not connect his interest with my own. As soon as I received your letters I sent them to him and accompanied them with such an address as must have at once convinced him of my devotion to the views of our mutual friends and the sincerity of all my former advances. Let it suffice we are now *one*, and in being so, I have all the reason to think that some expectations of a contrary tendency have been greatly disappointed.

You will doubtless hear from Hastings all that has past since the new powers took the *rules*. Mortifying as his situation is, I am glad, very glad, to observe in him a resolution to support his burthen. I suffer with him the chagrin of dividing in the minority, but as this is neither novel to me or to him, *vide* Vansittart's Government, you may trust the temper and firmness with which every matter that involves the public interests, will be supported by the Governor-General. I will not take up your time or my own by entering into particulars, but refer you, in case you should not be furnished with a relation from Mr. Hastings, to my sister who has some detached minutes that throw a light on what has been transacted.

I flatter myself something will be done for Captain Tryon to his satisfaction. I have been very solicitous to assist him, and the Governor is equally anxious to show his respect to your recommendation of that unfortunate man.

No. 384.

To RALPH LEYCESTER, ESQ.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Leycester,

I have received from you in the course of this season letters of the following dates : 6th November 1773, 20th and 31st January, 15th and 31st March and 11th April 1774.

I shall confine myself at present to a few lines and merely to your own affairs. I have not time to adjust and send you a statement of your concerns, but as your monies are safe, you will be satisfied with a temporary omission of accounts. The Restitution has been paid to the last anna and which, I understand, is now about to be issued. This will liquidate your claims on that account, unless the equity of the claimant's pretensions to an interest shall be admitted. I cannot, however, flatter you that it will here be esteemed a debt bearing interest, unless the decision of the law establishes the right of the claimants to interest, and should this prove the case, the Company will pay dearly for having kept back the sums due since 1765, on account of the Restitution. The interest simply, I believe, amounts to 14 lacs of rupees, an object too consequential, I believe, for the Government in Europe to admit, unless influenced by the compulsive power of the Black Gown.

Your bill in favor of Mr. Charlton for Rs. 856-5-3 shall be discharged, but it will be without interest.

All the bonds of the Company running at 8 per cent. are now sold at a premium of $3\frac{1}{4}$ and 4, so that the preference rather lays on the side of the 5 per cent., as the others will be shortly liquidated, either by an entire discharge of the whole 8 per cent., or a reduction of it to the footing of the 5 per cent. so that you must expect all your latter securities in 5 per cent., for as to private credit I think it so precarious that I cannot advise loans to any persons engaged in commerce, however much the difference in the premium of interest may be esteemed an object.

You write me you would be content with $2/1$ the current rupee for good bills. My Friend, such are the distresses of individuals that the Navy bills have been purchased at $1/9\frac{1}{4}$ per rupee. If, therefore, you have an offer of two shillings and the money lodged in a banker's hands in England, seize the tender without hesitation. Should you like it not I will thank you for it and honor your draft to the amount of lacs for what I want not, others will be happy to obtain.

I do not write to Dr. Lushington and have in consequence to beg you will inform him that I will take care of his monies and send him his account by next ship.

My respects to Mrs. Leycester and remember me to your little ones.

No. 385.

To MR. JOHN LODGE, JUNIOR.

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

DEAR SIR,

As an old acquaintance you must allow me the freedom to congratulate myself on being restored to you. A man who by long absence from his country, may be said to return to a strange one, should it ever by his lot to return, receives a sensible satisfaction from the idea that he shall be recognised by those he once knew first, as our remembrance of each other must be. Still it is a privilege I am extremely tenacious of and shall use as my only introducer when I offer you my hand in England in testimony of my being happy to see you. In the meantime while I feel myself obliged by your acknowledgements of the attentions I paid to your brother, I experience that respect for your sentiments as lead me to place a high value on your future friendship, and particularly to request I may be indulged with it.

No. 386.

To PHILLIP AFFLECK, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

DEAR AFFLECK,

Few people profit by advice, and obstinacy still attends the steps of age. Honest Sancho was very happy in applying these old saws and always to prove the very opposite of the positions they laid down. This, in the present instance, is my case, for I mean to tell you that I do not find with increase of years, increase of mulishness or the least inclination to shut my ears to the reasonings of my friends. In short, you have made quite a proselyte of me and have fairly turned the scale in favor of Hastings, who, with all his peculiarities and extreme jealousy in honorary competitions, has many great and valuable qualities. These his bitterest enemies must allow, though they may think proper to share them with his foibles and dim their lustre by opposing the stream of infirmities through which they will still shine. You will, I make no doubt, be concerned to hear that opinions on some public measures delivered by our associates in the Government, are not so harmonious as might be wished. I confess my expectations have been greatly disappointed, for as I looked to the opposite conduct, I was equally surprised as hurt by the precipitancy with which our colleagues entered into an immediate opposition to the views of the Governor-General. To enter minutely on the subject of our differences would lead me beyond the limits of a letter. I will leave you,

therefore, to obtain the information of those who may be masters of the subject and are possessed of the papers that treat of it. For you must see the whole connectedly, or you will possibly be led to form a partial judgment. I am entirely unconcerned in the determinations of the old administration, having been precluded from their deliberations by my absence at a subordinate station. My sentiments, of course, cannot be taxed with a bias from any retrospective view to support the measures in which I participated. They will, therefore, I think, have the weight of being delivered by an unconcerned observer who can have no inducement but the conviction that the approbation he gives is due where it is bestowed.

I am at a loss to know why you speak so particularly of young Chollet, as if I had done him some essential service. I can pretend to no other merit than that of having shown him the common civilities of my house, and more really has not been in my power, if you mean to upbraid me for not having done more. But should the trifling civilities I have shown young Chollet, have influenced his father's and your acknowledgements you have so far overrated them, that you perceive they have impressed another idea on my mind.

From those who manage your Navy claims on the Treasury, you will understand them to be discharged without a difficulty. Indeed, we are so rich that not only is the Navy money, but the Restitution and twenty lacks of our interest debt is paid off, and if the stipulations with the Vizier are not obstructed by our late precipitate resolves, and he continues to retain a brigade with him, the whole interest debt of Bengal will be liquidated in the course of 1775. This is a scene entirely new from this quarter, and as I have always said, would be presented to the public whenever the powers of Bengal were called forth by careful attention and management.

No. 387.

TO RICHARD BECHER, ESQ.,

CALCUTTA,

The 30th November 1774.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of the 5th December 1772 and 7th July 1773. You will long since have heard the sequel of our inquisition business on Mahmed Riza Cawn, as the papers are, I believe, transmitted very full and satisfactory. I think they cannot fail to give you satisfaction. The poor man still remains in Calcutta, and whether it be pretence or real indigence, I understand he is about to sell off his dead stock in houses and convert it into money. What degree of reparation the Company may think due to him, must be best known to you who are upon the spot, but I should suppose the office of which he was deprived will never again, be revived, and consequently cannot be restored to him.

What a disagreeable scene have you, my good Friend, been involved in, and how superior has Lord Clive risen from the attack made on his fame and fortune? I congratulate you, most heartily congratulate you, on the turn of affairs and flatter myself, the spirits of the multitude are calmed by the thorough and rigorous investigation now terminated. May the subject sleep forever, and no endeavors of party faction or of private pique revive it. I beg, when you see Lord Clive, you would present my respects to him, assure him I shall be happy to rank in the number of his friends and to execute any commands he may think proper to favor me with.

General Clavering and the other members of the new Government are arrived at the latter end of October. The change in consequence was promulgated at the head of the Grenadier Company through the town, and copies of the Act of Parliament dispersed throughout the provinces to be published to the natives. The powers vested in the Law Department, unless exercised with great moderation and respect to the usages of the country, will, I apprehend, risk the success of the new system. The Lord Chief Justice seems a man of temper and probity with a mind enlarged, and a disposition to moderate his system in its operations by the local knowledge he may obtain. Such appearances are flattering, and I hope, will not be proved mere appearances when put to the test, for a jarring between the powers of Government and the powers of the Gown, must be attended with the most fatal consequences to the revenue of the country.

Although the revenues of Bengal are not raised, the political and internal economy of the Government has enabled it to wipe off most of its incumbrances. The Navy and Restitution claims are discharged, and twenty lacs of the Bond debt entirely paid off. Another part is reduced to five per cent., and the remainder, I expect, will be wholly liquidated by this time twelve month. The Government's ability to effect all this arises from the following causes:—

Retrenchment by order of the Court of Directors in salaries, stipends and state pensions.

The sale of Elliabab and Corah.

The employment of a brigade in Suja-ul-Dowlah's dominions at 2,10,000 per mensem paid by him for its support, which gives a saving of one fourth of our military expenses.

The stipulation of 40 lacs for the services rendered by the brigade in the Vizier's war with the Rohillas.

My compliments to Mrs. B. and good wishes to your growing family abruptly introduced me. I am, etc.

[*To be continued.*]

Leaves from the Editor's Note-Book.

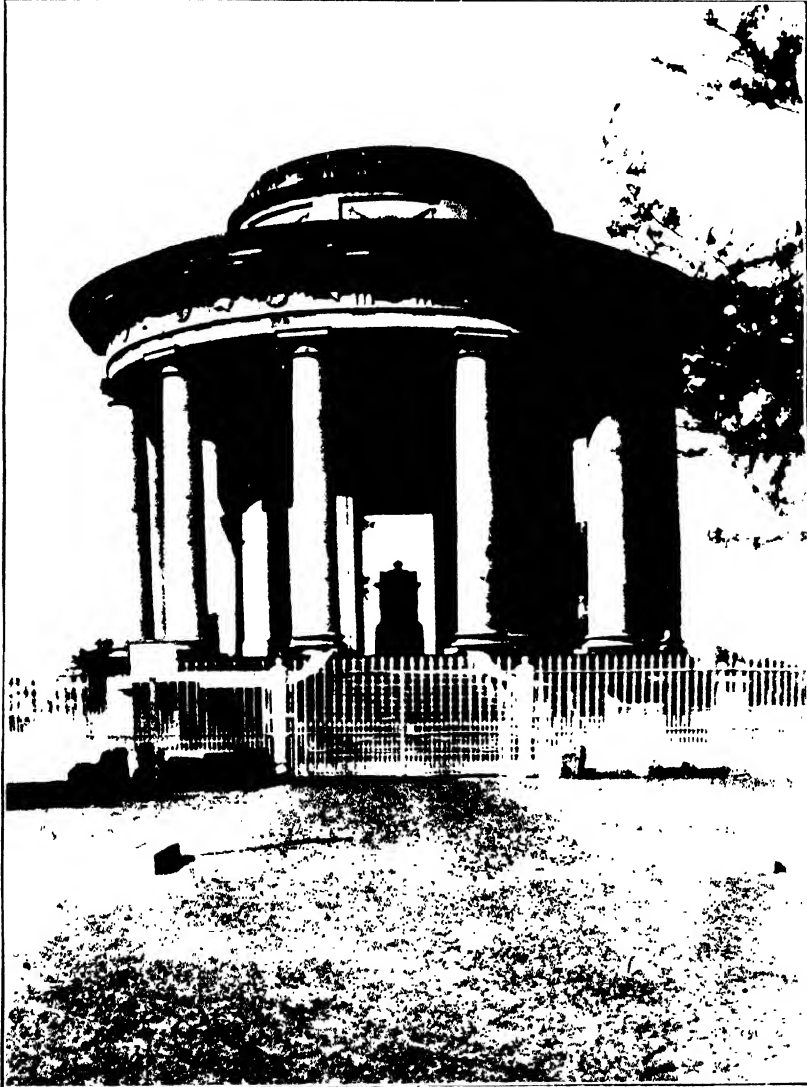
HERE is Bishop Heber's description (August 28, 1828) of the Cornwallis monument at Ghazipur (Ghazepore).

It has a white dome like a pepper-pot, but when the young trees, which are growing up round about it, shall have got a little higher, it will not look ill from the river

During our drive this evening I had a nearer view of Lord Cornwallis's monument, which certainly does not improve on close inspection; it has been, evidently, a very costly building; its materials are excellent, being of the finest freestone I ever saw, and it is an imitation of the celebrated Sybills' temple, of large proportions, solid masonry, and raised above the ground on a lofty and striking basement. But its pillars, instead of beautiful Corinthian well-fluted, are of the meanest Doric. They are quite too slender for their height, and for the heavy entablature and cornice which rest on them. The dome, instead of springing from nearly the same level with the roof of the surrounding portico, is raised ten feet higher on a most ugly and unmeaning attic-story, and the windows (which are quite useless) are the most extraordinary embrasures (for they resemble nothing else) that I ever saw out of a fortress. Above all, the building is utterly unmeaning, it is neither a temple nor a tomb neither has altar, statue, or inscription. It is in fact a "folly" of the same sort, but far more ambitious and costly, than that which is built at Barrackpore, and it is vexatious to think that a very handsome Church might have been built, and a handsome marble monument to Lord Cornwallis placed in its interior, for little more money than has been employed on a thing, which, if any foreigner saw it, an event luckily not very probable) would afford subject for mockery to all who read his travels, at the expense of Anglo-Indian ideas of architecture. Ugly as it is, however, by itself, it may yet be made a good use of, by making it serve the purpose of a detached "torre campanile" to the new Church which is required for the station; to this last it would save the necessity of a steeple or cupola, and would much lessen the expense of the building, but the times are, I fear, unpropitious for any grants of this nature from the Indian Government. Yet the wants of this station are so urgent, for when they have European soldiers here again, they will have no building of any kind to receive them for worship, and the representation which the principal civil and military servants have made to me, is so strong, that it is absolutely my duty to urge the case, and I will certainly do so (*Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. I, pp. 344-345)

The Bishop, on August 30th, writes:—"the present, or rather the late Church, is a very large building, thatched like a barn, with a wide span which has forced the side-walls out of the perpendicular; indeed, the whole is in a very forlorn condition, and I am surprised that it has stood through these rains." The existing Church of St. Thomas was completed in 1837.

Mr. W. S. Seton-Karr in his *Cornwallis (Rulers of India Series)* states that "Cornwallis lies at Ghazipur, in a monument described as a domed quasi-Grecian building, with a marble statue by Flaxman." This statement is



CORNWALLIS MONUMENT. GHAZIPUR.

Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

based on an error in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Beneath the dome, as may be seen, in the accompanying illustration, there is a pillar which bears some very fine work by Flaxman, a medallion portrait of Cornwallis, and a very lengthy inscription.

In my "Leaves" for July-September of last year, I printed the letter of the Council in Bengal, dated 8th September, 1770, to the Court of Directors. In that letter the Council record their triumph over the Select Committee. Becher, the Resident at the Durbar of Murshidabad, was committed to the existing system of administering the revenues as much as possible through the machinery of the Country Government, and had, as far as lay in his power, thwarted the policy of placing the administration of the Diwan in the hands of English Collectors, or, as they were called, "Supravisors." Becher, it is to be added, had been nominated by the Directors to succeed Cartier in the Governor's chair. The result of the controversy was that the Directors upheld the Council against the Select Committee, Cartier was removed from office, Becher was ordered home, and Messrs. Russell and Floyer were re-transferred to Madras, whence they had been brought by Lord Clive in 1765 in order to supersede the scorned Bengal Civilians. This drastic measure led directly to the promotion of Warren Hastings to the Government of Fort William in 1772.

The references to the famine and plague of 1769-70 in the following letters are of interest in connection with Sir William Hunter's handling of that subject in his *Rural Annals of Bengal*.

PRESIDENT AND SELECT COMMITTEE, FORT WILLIAM.

TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.
30th October 1770.

[Received per *Prince of Wales*, May 12, 1771]

15. We could not avoid taking notice of the sum remitted from the last year's settlement, altho' we were persuaded that the Resident at the Durbar and Mohamed Reza Cawn were compelled to the necessity of making so considerable a reduction in your Revenue in order to answer the humane, and indeed political, purpose of relieving the truly calamitous state of the country and its wretched inhabitants.

16. When we reflect on your orders and expectations from the duties arising on salt, we cannot but be greatly concerned at the disappointment you must necessarily meet with from the last year's produce of that branch of your Revenue. Its falling so very short of your estimate makes us strongly suspect that the Phousdar of Hughley has either been extremely negligent in his duty or dishonest in the management of the business committed to his charge. This district is now under the management of a Supravisor from whose investigation the conduct of the Phousdar will be fully discovered; and, if it appears that he has committed any fraudulent actions, we shall call him to very severe account. Under the Supravisor we expect this important branch of your Revenues will be revived and ascertained with greater precision than it has been hitherto.

17. From the very serious representations of the Resident at the Durbar and Mohomed Reza Cawn, we were at length with much difficulty induced to withdraw from some of the Supravisors that controuling authority which the Committee intended should be vested in them all. We thought an adherence to the original plan more suitable to the consistency or dignity of Government than a change, which might, if an association really existed, inspire the accomplices with fresh confidence. The Resident at the Durbar, on the other hand, assured us that the collections could not be carried on if the controuling power was continued to these gentlemen, that it would interrupt the business and create pretext for balances, that the active powers was (*sic*) the only effectual one and that it was too great to be entrusted all at once; and he further urged the distresses of the conjuncture and insufficiency of your funds, which he thought made it a most unfit season for experiment; offering it as his opinion, at the same time, that it would be most expedient to commence by slow degrees, first to invest a few of the Supravisors with the active powers and confine the rest to the administration of justice and the improvement of themselves in the knowledge of the country. Many other forcible arguments, which are recorded in our proceedings, were urged on this occasion, and we thereupon at length gave our consent that the controuling power should for the present be only invested in Messrs. Kelsall, Graham, Vansittart, Ducarell and Stewart. But in this our intention has been frustrated by orders since issued by the Council in their Secret Department confirming the controuling power to all the Supravisors which was originally vested in them.

June 28.

JOHN CARTIER.

CLAUD RUSSELL.

CHARLES FLOYER.

SELECT COMMITTEE TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

The 12th December 1770.

Our Public Letter will inform you of our immediate compliance with your orders received by the *Mansfield* for the reduction of the Council, and for the recall of those members of Council acting as chiefs of subordinates to the Presidency; but, as you mentioned your having given full instructions to your Commissioners concerning this plan, which would so essentially alter the former system of your Government here, we immediately wrote to the Presidency of Madras, to forward us such extracts of your General Letter to the Commissioners as had any tendency to the affairs of this Settlement, or that, if they considered themselves unempowered to open these letters, they would forward them down to us, being cautious of forming arrangements which might differ from those in your instructions to the Commissioners, and wishing to avail ourselves of the method you might have pointed out to them. In the common cause, we may now expect an answer in a few days, by which time all the members will be assembled at the Presidency, and we shall carry the whole of your commands into execution conformable to the plan you have drawn in your instructions to the Commissioners.

5. We have no longer the power of conducting your Revenue; this is a charge usurped by the Board. To them it, therefore, belongs to explain the causes from whence they have decreased and the degree in which they will answer the expectations you have conceived. Sorry we are that our Hon'ble Masters should be so severely disappointed. We should wish that the evils impending over this Settlement were further removed than they appear to be, and that a provision against them was not immediately necessary. We would wish that these evils, however, they shall affect us, may only prove a secondary consideration to the Company; but, whatever may have been our opinion, and whatever the share which we are to have in the execution of your commands, we shall always show that submission which is due to superior judgment and the obedience which we owe to the directions of our Hon'ble Employers.

SELECT COMMITTEE OF BENGAL TO THE COURT OF DIRECTORS.

12th February 1771.

2. Notwithstanding the severity of the late famine and the great reduction of people thereby, some increase has been made on the settlements both of the Bengal and Bahar Provinces for the present year; and we hope, as the country recovers itself in succeeding years, a much larger increase may be made, without oppressing the ryotts. From the progress already made in the collections and from the attention and vigilance of the Council of Revenue and the Supravisors in the different districts, we hope the amount of Revenue fixed for the present year will be in great measure realized, though in some particular parts where the loss of inhabitants has been greatest and in others where the succeeding crop has been destroyed by the overflowing of the river we are apprehensive deficiencies will be unavoidable. By the establishment of Councils of Revenue with Supravisors to act under them we have every reason to expect many very essential benefits will accrue to the Company and this country. A great reduction in the charges of the collections will take place, encouragement will be given for the cultivating of those lands which, through the neglect of the Country Government, have long laid waste, the Revenue really paid by the Ryotts and the manner in which so principal a part of them has been kept from coming into the public Treasury will be brought to our knowledge, and such alienations prevented in future, and the tenants and manufactures will no longer remain under the oppression of the inferior officers of the Government.

3. The Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad having represented to us that the *aumils* who had been employed this year in the business of the Revenues by no means answered the good purposes we expected from their services, and that great part of the collections made by them was sunk in enormous charges, we directed that they should be recalled and none employed in future, at the same time recommending it to the Ministers to appoint Phougedars at Houghly and Dacca to carry on the transaction of the Country Government with European nations.

4. Being desirous of avoiding every measure that may give the least umbrage in Europe in regard to the transactions in Bengal with other European nations, and at the same time to contribute as far as lays in our power consistently with prudence to the establishing of a wise and just Government in every part of these Provinces, we request you will be pleased to furnish us with full and explicit instructions for our future conduct as to the affairs of the Nizamut.

5. On this head Mr. Reed has thought proper to record his opinions, which appears on our Consultations of the 17th January.

6. We hope that a scrutiny we have ordered to be made into the rights to the Jaghires in the Bahar Province will be productive of an increase of Revenue: for, as many are possessed of a much greater quantity of land than is specified in their grant, as others only hold their lands from favor of Zemindars or talookdars, who, without the consent or approbation of the Nazim, had made many alienations from those districts over which they presided, in favor of their creatures or relations, we think that no length of time can give them a legal possession. And, as we shall be attentive to the claims of those who have proper sunnuds to produce, or who having lost their sunnuds, may have a claim by a long uninterrupted possession of their lands, so we shall not hesitate to resume such lands as have been given away by those who had no right to do it, or which have been swallowed up by the encroachments of the Jagheerdars.

7. To gain a further insight into the state of the country, to be a check on the conduct of the Supravisors, and to remedy any abuses that may be springing up, we have directed that the members of the Council of Revenue shall, in the most vacant season of the collections, make circuits of the districts—a measure which, we flatter ourselves, experience will prove the utility of it.

GENERAL LETTER OF THE COURT OF DIRECTORS TO BENGAL.

10th April 1771.

22. As it is impossible for us to be minutely informed of the regulations established by the constitution of the country for the security of the persons and properties of the native inhabitants,

it must, therefore, rest on your local knowledge to judge if in the internal policy and the executive parts justice be defective in any point, or too confined to yield that universal relief which we are solicitous to obtain for every individual. In case the means should not be equal to this end, you must not fail to employ your influence with the Government to supply all defects and to institute such inferior orders of the magistracy as may be wanting for the entire protection of all ranks and degrees of the people.

23. Should the Superior Courts in the several districts require any reform, your own judgment will suggest to you the means, and your humanity will excite your efforts for preventing any abuses or negligencies in the due course of justice. We must, however, particularly recommend that all power in the judges of imposing arbitrary fines be immediately abolished; and it will be proper that the sunnauds appointing judges for Muhammedan or Bramins for the Hindoos be registered in form, and that a record be made of the sentences in the Nabob's Courts, one copy to be kept in the Cutcherry and another transmitted to Muxadabad.

24. As it may happen that the processes of the Courts, while they aim at the remedy of one evil may be productive of another you must enjoin our servants, wherever they shall be stationed, to recommend, in all matters of property between the natives, that they adjust their differences by arbitration instead of legal suits, which may involve both parties in trouble and expence. And, having reason to apprehend that the abuses of the Country Courts in requiring the different parties to give security for the payment of *chout* on the adjustment of disputes by arbitration, have tended greatly to discourage this mode of deciding differences, you must use your influence with the Government for the abolition of the *chaut* exacted by the Courts in cases of arbitration.

64. It is with pleasure we observe that the appointment of supervisors to examine into the state of the Provinces (under the instructions which our late President has with so much judgment and fullness laid down for their guidance) may be productive of so general a reformation of the abuses which are the immediate object of our concern, that we have little to add to our preceding orders and regulations. We, therefore, wait with impatience for the issue of the Supervisors' researches, in full hope that our President and Council will have adopted such measures as shall unite with our views, not only for the Company's interest, but for the good of a country from which we receive so great advantage

COURT OF DIRECTORS TO BENGAL.

25th January 1772.

44. While we indulge ourselves in the hopes of seeing our Dewanny Revenues improved by the ease of Supervisors appointed to inspect and control the officers of Government and to superintend the collections, we deem it incumbent on us to guard against any evil effects, which may otherwise happen, should our servants in these stations acquire an undue influence in their respective districts. It is, therefore, our pleasure, and we direct that no Superintendent of the collection of Revenues be permitted to have charge of any particular district for more than two successive years, and that during his continuation in such a station, he be not directly or indirectly engaged or interested in carrying on any trade in the district committed to him, but that at the expiration of the term of two years, such of our servants who may have been employed as supervisors be permitted to return to the Presidency, and to hold such stations as their rank in our service and the good conduct they shall have discovered in the business of the revenues may entitle them to expect.

45. We, however, must here observe that as the business of the collections must be in many respects similar throughout the Provinces, we are unwilling to lose the benefit of that knowledge, which our servants shall have acquired in the station of Superintendent of the Collections. Therefore should any such Superintendent who may have faithfully discharged his trust during the beforementioned term be inclined to continue in the like capacity for a longer time, you are in such case to appoint him to the charge of another district, where it is not probable that any power and influence can be exercised to private advantage.

46. The reasons you have assigned for discontinuing the office of *amíl* in the business of the Revenues are very satisfactory to us, and your recommending the Nabob the appointment of Phowzedars at Houghly and Dacca, in order to transact the affairs of the Country Government with European nations, cannot but meet with our approbation, as it entirely coincides with our repeated orders and the ideas we entertain of its being the surest means of avoiding disputes and altercations with all Europeans in the Province of Bengal.

In the present number will be found some views of the ruined fort of Jalalgarh. In the Purnea volume of the *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley writes :

The Fort stands on what was formerly an island in an old channel of the Kosi River, and is a very conspicuous ruin in good preservation. It is a large quadrangular structure with lofty walls, and was built by the Mahammedans as a frontier post to protect the border against invasion from Nepál. According to the chronicles of the Khagrá family, it was built for this purpose by the first Rájá of Khagra, Sayid Muhammad Jalál-ud-din, on whom the title of Rájá was conferred by Jahángir (1605-27); and, according to other accounts, by the Nawab of Purnea, Saif Khan in 1722. It appears, however, to have been in existence before the latter date. According to the *Ri'azu-s-Salatin*, 'the Rájá of Birnagar had a force of 15,000 cavalry and infantry; and other inhabitants of that part of the Chakwár tribe, etc., were refractory and of plundering propensity, and used to annoy much the travellers. Therefore, on the limits of the Morang, the fort of Jalalgarh was erected, and a commandant, in charge of the fort, was posted there.' It then proceeds to relate how Saif Khan, on being appointed fowzdár of Purnea, was also made commandant of Jalálgarh and given the *jagir* attached to that post. Subsequently, the fort was held by the seventh Rájá of Khagra, Saiyad Muhammad Jalil who refused to pay revenue to the Nawab Saulat Jang, *i.e.*, Saiyad Ahmad Khan. The latter, therefore, made an expedition against him, captured the fort, and took him prisoner. In the early part of the 19th Century, we find that the Magistrate of Purnea, in consequence of the unhealthiness of the town of Purnea, recommended the removal of the headquarters to Jalalgarh, which he described as 'elevated, open, and at a distance from jungle, while the walls of the old fortress might be turned to account in the construction of a safe and commodious jail.' There is a tradition that a Muhammadan fanatic raised the standard of revolt here during the Mutiny, and tried to encourage his followers by the usual assurances that he would swallow the bullets of the infidel soldiery. The end of the movement was ignominious, for, after inducing his dupes to bring him contributions in gold, he disappeared in the night and was never heard of again.

There is now no trace of any buildings within the curtain walls of the fort, and the peepul trees are so rooted in the rough masonry that the walls themselves appear to be doomed to fall.

Some eight or nine years ago I went on pilgrimage to the ruins of the French Governor's palace at Ghiretti, and took the photo of the former gateway which appears opposite page 17 of Vol. 1 of *Bengal Past and Present*. Other views of the ruins have appeared in *Bengal Past and Present*, and a good deal has been said in this journal on the vanished glories of Ghiretti. Now at last the few remaining heaps of masonry are being removed to make way for a mill. The reproduction of Moffat's view of "Ghiretta House" will,

therefore, form a timely commemoration. The capture of Ghiretti House by Col. Dow in 1778 has been dealt with in these pages, but no notice has been taken of the attempt of Philip Francis's creature, Macintosh, to make capital out of the incident. In a footnote on page 145, of his *Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, Macintosh writes: "It has been industriously propagated that M. Chevalier was in the house at Ghyrotty when Colonel Dow entered it, but that he got away by the management of Madame Chevalier. Nothing is more false. Two confidential servants of the Company and particular favourites of Mr. H—s., were with, upon *secret* business, until two o'clock next morning; when Colonel Dow surrounded Ghyrotty House, M. Chevalier was concealed in the house of a trusty servant in the town of Chandernagore, three miles distant, together with such papers as would, probably, if seized by Colonel Dow, *have brought fatal conspiracies to light.*" In his text, Macintosh writes: "This dangerous evil is encouraged by the wilful violation of the standing orders of the Company, prohibiting the Company's servants in India from marrying women of foreign birth or the Romish faith. Two of the Council at Madras are married to French ladies—near relations of Governor Law and rigid Catholics. A late suspended member of the same Board is married to another lady of that family; and several other gentlemen in the Service of that Presidency have entered into similar connections. The Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, has set an example of the same kind in Bengal; and in order to render the practice general, he contrived to draw two of his family into foreign connections. With great confidence it may be asserted that all the mischiefs which have attended Mr. H—s's administration in Bengal are to be ascribed to female connection; that the notice given to M. Chevalier, the evening preceding the capture of Chandernagore, etc.; etc."

In a letter dated January 18th, 1782, Francis writes: "In answer to a thousand lies you will have heard about Mr. Macintosh, I declare to you most solemnly that I never did employ or authorize him, directly or indirectly to say or do anything for me, or on my account in England." In a cash-book of Francis has been discovered the following entry.

	£.	s.	d.
In 1782 February, Draft of Macintosh paid January 18th	...	1,078	4 10
„ December 6th Paid Mr. Almon (the Bookseller) in full for Macintosh		56	18 6

The *Travels in Europe* were published by John Murray, of Fleet Street and do not bear the name of Almon, but the book was most probably placed on sale at Almon's, or Almon and Debrett's, shop. The connection of Francis with Almon is interesting for another reason, as the following extract will show:—

Gentleman's Magazine,* 1770, Vol. XIII, Chronicle P. 165. Mr. Almon, the book-seller, received sentence for selling in a monthly pamphlet Junius' *Letter to the K—*, to pay a fine of 10 marks and to find sureties for his good behaviour for two years, himself to be bound in £400, and his sureties in 200 each. Mr. Justice Astor pronounced the sentence, Lord M— having left the Court before the pleadings.

In the *Annual Register* for 1783 there is an interesting letter from Joseph Cator to Thomas Pearson describing the *sati* of the widow of Gocul Chunder Gosaul, Verelst's Brahmin. Cator relates that Charnock saved the life of the Hindu widow, who was to become his wife, "by touching her while she was going through the ceremony." The letter is dated July 25th, 1779.

—————
The following extract from a letter of the Court to Bengal, dated 5th April, is worth noting :—

We have no objection to the privilege granted to Messrs Sumner, Heatley and Redfearn to get coal in the Patchet Province, provided the rights of the native zemindars are not infringed, nor the revenue of the Company endangered or diminished thereby.

The Gentleman's Magazine, 1787, P. 744, records :—

August 14 At Kentish Place, Lady Boughton, relict of Sir Edward Boughton, mother of Sir Theodosius Boughton, who was sometime ago poisoned by his sister's husband, Capt. Donnellan, for which the latter was executed in 1781.

At the trial of Warren Hastings, the Managers pleaded that circumstantial evidence should be good enough to convict the Ex-Governor, for circumstantial evidence had sufficed to send Capt. Donnellan to the gallows. As I read this argument in the proceedings against Hastings, there came to my memory the following passage from William's *Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Native Infantry* (1817) :—

This unfortunate man was executed at Warwick in 1781 for the supposed murder of his brother-in-law, Sir Theodosius Boughton. He was condemned on the evidence of mother-in-law, who, through remorse, on her death-bed, confessed that she had administered the poison herself which deprived her of her son's life and declared Mr. Donnellan to be innocent.

The murdered Baronet, it would seem, was a lad who had but recently left Eton. His mother, in her evidence, said that the boy had frequently been represented by Donnellan "to be in a dangerous way, notwithstanding contrary opinion of medical folk," but a clergyman who gave evidence, as having seen the deceased a few days before death, said that Sir Theodosius had not got rid of the disorder he had brought with him from Eton which was "nothing but mercury and corruption," and despite an outward appearance of good health, his life was "not worth a year's purchase." Surgeon William Carr, however, was of opinion that the disorder had ceased to be serious.

* I am not quite sure if my reference is not really to the *Annual Register*.

On the day before his death, the Baronet had been out fishing, and did not return to the Hall till 9 P.M. His mother stated that formerly her son's medicine had been kept under lock and key, but Captain Donnellan had recommended that it would be well to keep the medicine in a place before the patients' eye, so that he could take it when necessary. The medicine—"Purging draughts for Sir Theodosius Boughton"—was, therefore, kept on an open shelf. The draughts were professedly.

1. Manna and Salts.
2. Rhubart and jalop—15 grains each.

At 7 A.M. on the day of her son's death, Lady Boughton poured the contents of one of the bottles, not having shaken it, into a tea-cup, and gave the medicine to her son. On drinking the mixture, the patient remarked that it was extremely nauseous, and the witness said the smell suggested bitter almonds. Two bottles were placed before her, and she indicated one which she said gave an impression of laurel leaves. Soon after drinking the medicine, the patient, according to his mother, became convulsive for about five minutes, after which, he becoming "easy," she left the room. After five minutes she returned and found her son in an alarming situation—teeth clenched, eyes fixed upwards, and mouth foaming. She sends for Dr. Powell, and then Donnellan is found, according to her statement, in the room. According to her statement, Donnellan seized one bottle, poured water into it, and then poured the contents into a basin containing dirty water. Despite Lady Boughton's protest, the Captain did the same with the other bottle, explaining that he was about to taste the contents, and putting his finger to the mouth of each bottle and then to his own mouth. Two servants—Sarah Blundell and Catherine Amor, entered the room, and Donnellan ordered the first to clean the bottles and tidy the room, despite Lady Boughton's objection. At this stage, Sir Theodosius died. Then, according to Lady Boughton, she, her daughter (the Captain's wife), and the Captain met in the parlour. Donnellan said to his wife that Lady Boughton had observed him washing the bottles, and that but for his saying he did it to taste the contents, he did not know what might be done to him. Lady Boughton made no reply, but turned in silence to the window. The Captain called in the coachman and asked him, "William, don't you remember my going out this morning through the iron gate? I have not been on the other side of the house to-day." "Yes, Sir," said William, "I do remember it." "Then, you William, are my evidence." At the Coroner's inquest, Lady Boughton said, the Captain had pulled her sleeve when she spoke of his having washed the bottles, and afterwards, on the way home, said to his wife that her Ladyship was very forward in telling things which she, had no occasion to tell, for all that she had to do was to answer the questions put

to her. After ordering the room to be cleansed, her Ladyship alleged, Donnellan had given the deceased's stockings to the servant saying that they were wet, while as a matter of fact there was no appearance of their being wet at all.

Catherine Amor, in her evidence, stated that the Captain had volunteered the statement that Sir Theodosius had caught cold by going out fishing when he was under medicine; yet when the body was opened, he said the cause of death was the breaking of a blood vessel. The Captain had been wont to lock himself up for hours working at a still, and a few days after the inquest had brought her a still to clear.

Powell of Rugby, the medical man sent for by Lady Boughton stated that he had arrived at 9 A. M. to find Sir Theodosius already dead. He was accompanied by the Captain to the death chamber, and informed by him that the Baronet had died in convulsions, which the Captain ascribed to a chill. The medicines were not in the room.

On September 4th, Rattray, Physician of Coventry, was summoned by *an anonymous letter* to attend at Lawford Hall to inspect, in company with Surgeon Wilmer, the body of the deceased. The medical men, on their arrival, were met by Donnellan who showed them a letter from Sir William Wheeler, the late Baronet's guardian, demanding a *post mortem*. The Doctors, however, finding the body to be in an advanced state of putrefaction, excused themselves on the ground "that mere family curiosity could not justify so dangerous an operation." Three days after the funeral, on September 9th, at the demand of Sir William Wheeler, Rattray and Wilmer met Bucknell, Powell and Snow at the churchyard. The body was exhumed and found to be "black and spotted, fat dissolved and—looked like water: teeth black and tongue protruding and curled up to the nose." Asked if these symptoms were caused by poison, Rattray replied "most undoubtedly," but, although he referred to experiments on dogs and horses, he had to admit, on cross-examination, that he had never before seen the dissection of a body supposed to be poisoned. The two bottles already mentioned were shown to him, and he declared "the one perfectly innocent, the other—chief ingredient laurel water." He admitted having been of opinion that the arsenic had been the cause of the death, but said that he had changed that view. He could not again alter his view as he had tasted some water in the deceased's stomach and had been convinced.

Wilmer and Parsons, "Professor of Anatomy at Oxford, and Ash, Physician in Birmingham, supported Rattray's view. Bucknell stated that

on calling at Lawford Hall, he had been met by Captain Donnellan, who told him that, as Rattray and Wilmer had refused to hold a *post mortem* it could be no one's business to interfere. Subsequently, after instructions from Sir William Wheeler, he again called at the Hall, but was sent away by the prisoner.

The above is very unpleasant reading, but the details may, perhaps, be of importance to the student of Medical Jurisprudence. The unfortunate thing is that I have not so far been able to test Williams' assertion that in the end Captain Donnellan's innocence was established by the confession of his mother-in-law. Donnellan came to Calcutta in Aldercron's Regiment in 1756, and elected to remain with the Indian Army, when his regiment was sent home. In 1759 he was court-martialed at Masulipatam for a breach of the 12th Article of War, but he seems to have been able to obtain a favourable reconsideration of his conduct.

To the abiding loss of Calcutta, Archdeacon Hyde brought his published studies of Calcutta Ecclesiastical history to an end with the close of the eighteenth century. At close of his brochure *The Parish of Bengal*, he takes his reader to visit the Church of St. John, "at its consecration or within a year of it." The chief entrance was then in the middle of the eastern wall. "Alighting at the great eastern staircase of Chunar-stone you ascended under the screen of your huge painted parasol to a tile-paved terrace beneath the eastern portico. Here a sentry with a firelock guarded the entrance. Passing him you found yourself in a wide, narrow vestibule and at the back of the curved recess that enclosed the altar; to the right and left were staircases leading up to the doors of the galleries. (This vestibule was abolished in 1811.) Passing beneath one of these staircases into the interior you saw that the altar was set in an apse (not vaulted probably) and on a pavement of white Chinese marble. Above it hung the great picture, and it was protected by a curved railing." The Archdeacon thinks that the pews in the body of the Church "probably faced all north and south on either side of a broad central aisle." The "tall pulpit with the reading desk below it stood right in front of the western gallery."

The above description suggests that, although in 1790, one entered St. John's by a door in the East, the altar was then at the east end of the Church, and discovered by the visitor after passing through a vestibule

enclosed by the extreme Eastern wall of the Church and within by a "curved wall" forming the apse in which the altar stood.

Referring to the Vestry Records, I find in a bill presented by Messrs. Bruce and Smille, on the 5th January 1812, the following items:—

To taking down the old roof, the circular walls behind the Communion Table, the old staircases and the walls enclosing them	...	...	...	1,146
Cutting 4 apertures in the east wall, fixing in the frames and cutting the doors and windows on each side end over the Communion Table	...	...	...	446

On April 10th 1813 the Vestry paid from their Pewage Fund.

To paving the square part of the church round the Altar, Pulpit and Reading Desk with the best polished clean Marble containing (after deducting 110 feet for the sweep of the Altar and 80 feet for the Governor-General's and Ministers Pews) 734 square feet at 3 Rs. per foot	..	..	..	2,202
Paving 33 feet 4 inches in length of the middle aisle containing 223 square feet at 3 rupees per foot	...	...	...	6,999

There was another considerable alteration in the architectural design of St. John's, carried out in 1811—the conversion of the internal columns from the "Doric" to the "Corinthian" order. The Report of a Special Committee of Survey held on November 25 1810 is worth reproducing.

LIEUT.-COL FLEMING of Engineers	..	...	..	President.
CAPT. THOS. WOOD, Executive Officer	...	...	...	} Members
LIEUT. FORDYCE, of Engineers	...	...	...

Judging from the beams lately taken from the East End as well as from the appearance of the ends of those exposed to views by breaking up the Terrace along the top of the Entablature of the columns in the body of the Church, the Committee is of opinion that, if the roof had not been broken up as above, there would not have been any necessity for a new roof for some years to come; but at present the Committee is of opinion a new roof is become indispensably necessary, for the beams have evidently suffered so much from exposure during the whole of the last rains, there would have been an impropriety in trusting to them.

Notwithstanding it has been hitherto customary when new roofs have been ordered to direct the Balustrades or Parapet wall to be taken down for the purpose of obtaining a perfect level for the beams to rest upon, yet, as that level cannot be had without incurring so heavy an expense, the Committee think it may well be dispensed with in the present instance, and therefore recommend that only the inner part of the wall where each beam rests and as far as they are inserted into it, be taken down.

Although the substituting Corinthian for Doric columns in the body of the Church would, in the opinion of the Committee, be a very great improvement, yet they cannot pretend to recommend the measure as indispensably necessary.

The removal of the original Stairs leading to the Galleries together with the walls enclosing them, as also the Circular Walls against which the Communion table stood, seems a very great improvement, in as much as it has enlarged the body of the Church and given much light, and the Committee very highly approves of the two Flights of Geometrical stairs already constructed in the West end of the Church as they take up very little room and are of very easy ascent, but the Committee does not see any necessity for the ornamented railing.

The Committee is not aware of any real necessity or great advantage to be derived from altering the present sloping from the Galleries, and therefore does not recommend it being done: neither does the Committee see any necessity for going to the expense of paving the Eastern Verandah with stone, nor of removing the tiles on the Western steps and putting stone in their stead: both have lasted so long tiled as they were, a new tiling may answer very well.

The Committee observes that the alterations proposed to be made in the Western Portico (all but the Steps), also the cylindrical Stairs in the steeple, as well as the proposed diminution of the Gallery in front of the organ, have been already carried into execution, and therefore thinks it needless to make any observations on those points. All the other parts of the proposed alterations, improvements and repairs, the Committee esteems necessary and proper, and therefore, offers the following estimates.

These alterations were effected during the course of repairs, and alterations and repairs altogether cost Rs. 54,396. The Congregation, at the same time, provided Rs. 3,000 for an ornamental iron railing for the staircases and galleries. It is interesting to note that on December the 3rd 1812, the Vestry addressed the Governor-General (Lord Minto) in Council, pointing out that it had "been deemed expedient that Divine Service should be performed on Sunday Evening at St. John's Church," and asking for the sum of Rs. 4000 to meet "the expence of the shades and lamps with the cost of putting up the same." The petition was granted.

The next great improvement was commenced in 1823. On the 20th of August the Vestry wrote:—

TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD AMHERST,
Governor-General in Council.

MY LORD,

We beg the honour of your Lordship's attention in Council to a short statement submitted with the view of promoting what is understood to have engaged of late the liberal consideration of Government. This is the improvement of the Cathedral.

The climate of this country obliges us annually to have a sloping double roofed shed of Dhurmah mats and bamboo erected on the south side of the Cathedral, the invariable effect of which is some injuries to the cornice and plaster of the building, the eventual expense being also, we believe, greater than would attend the construction of a suitable puckah verandah such as was in contemplation during the late Lord Bishop's life. In strict necessity the circumstance stated makes only one verandah necessary, but as [the] Building would want in uniformity in that case, and as there would be substantial advantage from a verandah to the northward, we beg to prepare an addition of a verandah on that side likewise. The improvement accruing to the aspect of the City from this two-fold addition to the Cathedral will be obvious to your Lordship in Council, and the substantial advantage intimated by us is that we can thus provide a more convenient ingress and egress for the people who sit under the galleries of the Cathedral and who come in palkees.

There is another improvement, which has been strongly recommended to us and which appears to be in itself desirable, namely, ventilators in the roof. We have consequently obtained an estimate for side ventilators, of which two will be placed at equal distance in the roof of each aisle.

Our practice and desire are not to trouble Government for expenses of the Cathedral so long as the assets derivable from the *Pewage* enable us to carry into effect what appears desirable, and on this principle we solicit at present Government for one half only of the necessary expenses, *viz.*, Sa Rs. 15,294-11-7, according to the accompanying estimates.

We have, etc.,

DANIEL CORRIE.

J. PARSONS.

G. MONEY.

J. L. STUART.

HENRY V. DARRELL.

W. AINSLIE.

The following is an extract of a letter from Bishop Heber to Lord Amherst :—

I am much concerned that I have been compelled to detain for so long a time the documents which your Lordship has done me the honour to communicate to me respecting the proposed additional verandahs and ventilators to the Cathedral. I was, however, so deeply impressed with what I apprehended to be architectural deformities in the details and elevation shewn to me, that I was anxious before I replied to your Lordship to converse with the Architect and some distinguished Engineer Officers whom I have had the privilege of consulting. The result has been that they agree with me in the propriety of (1st) shortening the verandahs by the omission of three pillars at each end; (2ndly) erecting the pillars on a continuous casement, instead of distinct pedestals, and (3rdly) extending the width of the stone steps within to the whole depth of the verandahs. By these alterations, if approved of by your Lordship in Council, a saving will be effected in the expense of, perhaps, a few hundred rupees, but, what is of more importance, a more convenient shelter will be obtained for palanquins, a more spacious and handsome access to the side aisles, and a much more chaste and elegant façade to the North and South Fronts of the Cathedral. Thus modified, I can with confidence recommend the plan to the munificence of your Lordship in Council, as likely to add materially to the comfort and convenience of the congregation, as well to the beauty of the structure and adjacent streets of the City.

In January, 1824, the Government contributed Rs. 7,647-5-9 as its share for the verandahs and ventilators.

The third important change was made sometime in 1863-64. This was the building of the existing Sanctuary. In view of this change, Lt. Col. Beadle, on behalf of the Dalhousie Institute, put in a request that Zoffany's Altar Piece might be transferred from the Church to the Institute. The cost of the new sanctuary appears to have been Rs. 6128-10-8, and the amount contributed by the Vestry Rs. 3323-10-10. On December 28th the Vestry were asked to consent to the surrender of a twenty foot strip of land in the East of the compound for the purpose of widening Council House Street.

Elsewhere in the present issue I have given the inscription from the grave of Mr. Jacob Rider at Ghazipur. I suppose that this Mr. Rider is to be

identified with the Jacob Rider who was dismissed from the Service by the Select Committee on 5th January 1767 for having joined in an address to Sir Robert Fletcher, when the latter was under sentence of Court Martial, and who was restored in the following year. (See General Letter of the Court to Bengal 9th December, 1768). Rider had been appointed in 1762 together with among others, Simcon Droz, John Grose, William Harwood, and Alexander Higginson. Of the last name the late Mr. R. C. Sterndale writes :

Amongst the worthies who contributed to the New Play House erected on the sites of the Old Church was one Alexander Higginson, a member of a notable and adventurous family of Salem, Massachusetts, for so far back as 1655, we find Colonel John Higginson of Salem, writing to induce his brother, Nathaniel, one of the Company's servants and for five years Governor of Fort St. George on the Coromandel Coast, to open up an Indian trade with Salem by way of London. A son of Nathaniel Robert Higginson died in Madras in 1726, being seventh in Council, though only 23 years in age. The Salem merchants, however, soon began to trade with Calcutta direct, and the *Atlantic of Salem* was the first ship that carried the American flag in the River Hughli in 1788.

From Volume 1 of "Writers' Petition" preserved at the India Office I have reaped the following biographical facts relative to John Cartier, Warren Hastings's immediate predecessor as Governor of Fort William. Cartier was the son of John and Mary Cartier : he was born on the 23rd May 1733, and baptised at St. James' Church, Westminster, on the 17th June following. He was educated by Francis Swinden, Master of the Academy at Greenwich, and later by Ellis Webster at the "School in Orange Court, near the Mews, Charing Cross," who writes :

This is to certify that Mr. John Cartier has been duly instructed by me in writing and arithmetic, and has regularly gone through two sets of Books in Merchants accounts of Dr. and Cr. by Double Entry and thoroughly qualified therein.

Cartier's "arrival" is dated 25th September 1750. In the dread year 1756 he was Factor and an Assistant at Dacca and for a short time a prisoner. In January, 1757, he is described in a list of Covenanted Servants (Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. III p. 414) as "Volunteer," while next to him comes Warren Hastings "Head Assistant Zemindary."

ST. JOHN'S HOUSE.

Calcutta.

}

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have been temporarily transferred to Shillong, and owing to the journey I have not been able to give to the proofs the amount of attention I should have desired.

W. K. F.



CHUPRA. VIEW OF THE OLD CEMETERY.

Some Old Burial Grounds.

IT is with the very greatest reluctance and with many misgivings I send the following pages to the press. The inscriptions here given were for the most part copied beneath a blazing sun, and with but the shortest time to do the work I attempted. It may, however, be long before any one with more leisure and skill comes forward to do the work in a scientific fashion, and during that time it is most probable that not a few of the inscriptions will have vanished forever. I would warn the reader that there may be many inaccuracies in these transcriptions of the epitaphs, although I hope for the best—that there will be found to be but few if any.

MONGHYR,

(1). *Closed Cemetery.*

The old cemetery at Monghyr is a burial-ground for the most part of children, young wives, and aged men. Probably more than 75 per cent. of the graves are those of children. I noticed, but had not time to copy, the inscriptions which show that in a sad fortnight of 1850 Sub-Conductor White buried three of his children close together in this sacred ground. The reader should consult *The Journal* of Bishop Heber.

1. Beneath this Stone / are deposited the earthly remains of / MAJOR-GENERAL / JAMES MURRAY MACGREGOR / of the Honourable East India Company's Service; / who departed this life on the 7th December / Anno Domini 1818 in the Fifty-ninth year of his age. / Oppressed and broken / by a series of unmerited misfortunes, / His Spirit, it is hoped has found repose, on the bosom of a Merciful Redeemer. / The remembrance of what he was / and of those qualities which rendered him dear / while living, to all who really knew him / will remain written in indelible characters / on the mournful hearts / of his disconsolate survivors.

2. Sacred / to the memory / of / WILLIAM MUNDY / Pensioner Sergeant / who departed this life / the 3rd of May, 1810 / Aged 74 years.

3. To the / Memory / of / CAPTN. RICHARD FRENCH late / of the Honer'ble (*sic*) Company Service / who departed this life the / 15th November in the year 1814 / Aged 74 years. / This Monument is erected by his two / Sons.....French and Richard French.

4. Here are deposited / the mortal remains of CORDELIA CORFIELD / wife of / Charles Corfield, Esq., / Surgeon of His Majesty's 17th Regiment of Foot / who departed this life / September 18th, 1814 / Aged 32 years and 7 months. / This Monument / is erected in grateful remembrance / of the many virtues that endeared her / to Private Affection / and Public Esteem / Richd. Blechynden *Arct.*

5. Sacred / to the / Memory of / MAJOR JAMES / DAVIDSON / of the 18th Regt. N. I. / who departed this life / August the 4, 1802.

6. Sacred / to the Memory of / CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS* / Formerly Commanding the Invalid Battalion / of this Garrison / In which he resided many years / His Gallantry and exemplary conduct / Excited the Applause / and regard of his Brother Officers / and of those who were placed under his Command / while his general deportment in Society / secured the Esteem of all who knew him. / This Stone / is placed by a Friend / who respects his Memory / and deplores his loss. / He died at Sea / on board the Hon'ble Company's Ship / *Northumberland* / Captain J. R. Francklin / near the Westward / Islands / On the 20th June 1809 / In the 68th year of his Age.

7. Beneath this humble Pile / Rest the remains of / JANE and HENRY / the wife and son / of / Captain John WILLIAMS. / Henry died the 13th of July 1798 / Aged twenty months / and his Mother / on the 29th of the same month / of grief / for the loss of her Child.

8. Sacred / to the memory of / CHARLES / son of CAPTAIN JOHN WILLIAMS / died. [*Continuation buried.*]

9. In Memory / of / MRS. MARY CHAMBERLAIN / Relict of / the late Rev. J. Chamberlain / Died August 27, 1833. / Aged 59.

10. In Memory of / JANE / late beloved wife of John PARSONS Missionary / who died August 26, 1842. / Aged 27 years. When Christ who is our life shall / appear, then shall ye also appear / with Him in glory.

11. / EBENEZER LAWRENCE / son of John and Mary Lawrence, Missionaries / who died August 7th, 1843 / Aged 3 years and 9 months. / Of such is the Kingdom of / God.

12. Sacred to the Memory / of / ENSIGN PATRICK QUIN / Died XXII April, MDCCXCV. Aged LXVI years

13. Sacred to the Memory / of / CAPT. NATHANIEL ALEXANDER / who died suddenly / on / the 31st of January 1792 / in the 52nd year / of his Age.

14. This / Monument / was erected / to the memory of ENSIGN JAMES STEWART / by his Friend L. Clearchue / by desire of his Brother / He died on the 5th of June / 1769 / aged 19 years. / A Clayton *fect.*

* The author of a well-known history of the Bengal Infantry.

15. Here lieth the body / of / Mr. JOHN M. CABE / late ' Deputy / Commissary / at this place / Died January 26th 1798. years.

16. Sacred to the memory of / LIEUT.-COL. WILLIAM MACNAMA-
MARA / who died at Monghyr / the 31st of January 1821 / Aged 62 years.

17. LIEUT. G. DWYER. Died March 17, 1856.

18. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOACHIM PIRON ESQUIRE / Uncove-
nanted Deputy Collector / who departed this life / on the 18th May, 1857 /
Aged 63 years and two months.

19. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOHN HENRY HARTLEY / PIRON /
the only Son of / Joachim and Louisa / Piron / who departed this life / on the
15th August / 1852 / Aged 22 years 2 months / and 28 days.

20. Sacred / to the Memory of / HENRY PIRON / only beloved Son of /
THOMAS GRANT Esquire / of Bhagulpore / who departed this life / on the
16th October 1856 / Aged 22 months and 4 days. / The Lord gave and the
Lord / hath taken away. Blessed / is His Holy Name.

21. In Memory / of / ENSIGN RONALD DAVIDSON / who departed
this life / the 3rd day of August / 1788 / Aged 45 years / Truly lamented
by all who knew him.

22. MRS. DE FOE / An aged widow died August 31, 1857 / Them which
Sleep in Jesus / Will God bring with Him.

23. Sacred to the Me / mory of Lieut. / EDWARD FROUD / SPENCER
of the / Bengal Native / Infantry / Died June 25 / 1827.

24. Sacred / to / the Memory of / LEUT. JAS MOORE. H. M. 29th
Reg Foot / Departed this life 30th December 1845 / Aged 38 years. /
Leaving a widow and three Orphan Children / to Deplore His Irreparable
loss. / This Monument is erected by His Disconsolate Widow.

25. BISCO DALE / Son of Captain JOHN WILLIAMS / died 7 August
1799. Aged 13 Months.

26. RALPH IRVING. M. D. Died XVIIIth April / MDCCXCV / Aged
XXXV years.

27. of / MARTHA / a Native Christian of
sincere and / practical piety / who after upwards / of 40 years of faithful
service in / Major-General Shulldham's family / died at Monghyr 8th of Sept-
ember 1844. / Blessed are the dead which die / in the Lord.

28. S. M. / of / CHARLES FRANCIS LE VASCHI / Son of / John
Francis Le Vaschi / who departed this life 8th May A. D. 1829 / Aged 8 years
11 months and 3 days.

29. Sacred / to the Memory of CATHERINE MARIAE / LOWTON /
Daughter of George and / Maria Lowton / of the Bengal Artillery / who
departed this life / on the 7th of May 1805 / Aged 8 months and 10 days.

[Continuation beneath soil.]

30. Sacred / to the Memory / of MISS AMELIA / WATSON, . who departed this life 23 / November 1829 Aged 17 / Leaving an aged Mother and numerous / friends to lament her early loss.

31. Sacred / to the Memory / of / CAPTAIN FRANCIS LATTER / of the 2nd Regt. N. Cavalry / who departed this life / 2nd day of April 1808.

[*Continuation under soil.*]

32. Here lies interred / the Body of / LIEUT. GEORGE HYDE / of Invalids / who departed this life / at Monghyr / Thursday 18th October 1827. / Aged 58 years.

33. In Memory of / WALTER FLETCHER / of Chesterfield, Derbyshire / An Ensign in the H. E. I. C. Service / who departed this life / 22nd August 1820 Aged 16 years. / A young man / whose excellent disposition / secured him the love of his friends / and his talents, correctness of conduct / the respect and esteem of all who knew him.

34. In Memory / of / MRS. HELEN TRESHAM / who died 3rd December 1847 13 *ross* below Suckreegully / Aged 33 years. / Such was her worth our loss is such / We cannot love too well, or grieve too much.

35. Sacred / to / the Memory / of / CAPTAIN JOHN CARIGE / who departed this life / on the 48th year / of his age / Sincerely and deservedly / lamented. / April 21, 1813.

36. Sacred / to the memory of / CHRISTIANA TYTLER / [Wife of] / Henry William Tytler, M. D. / Surgeon to His Majesty's Forces. / Born December 25th 1753. / Died January 4th 1823.

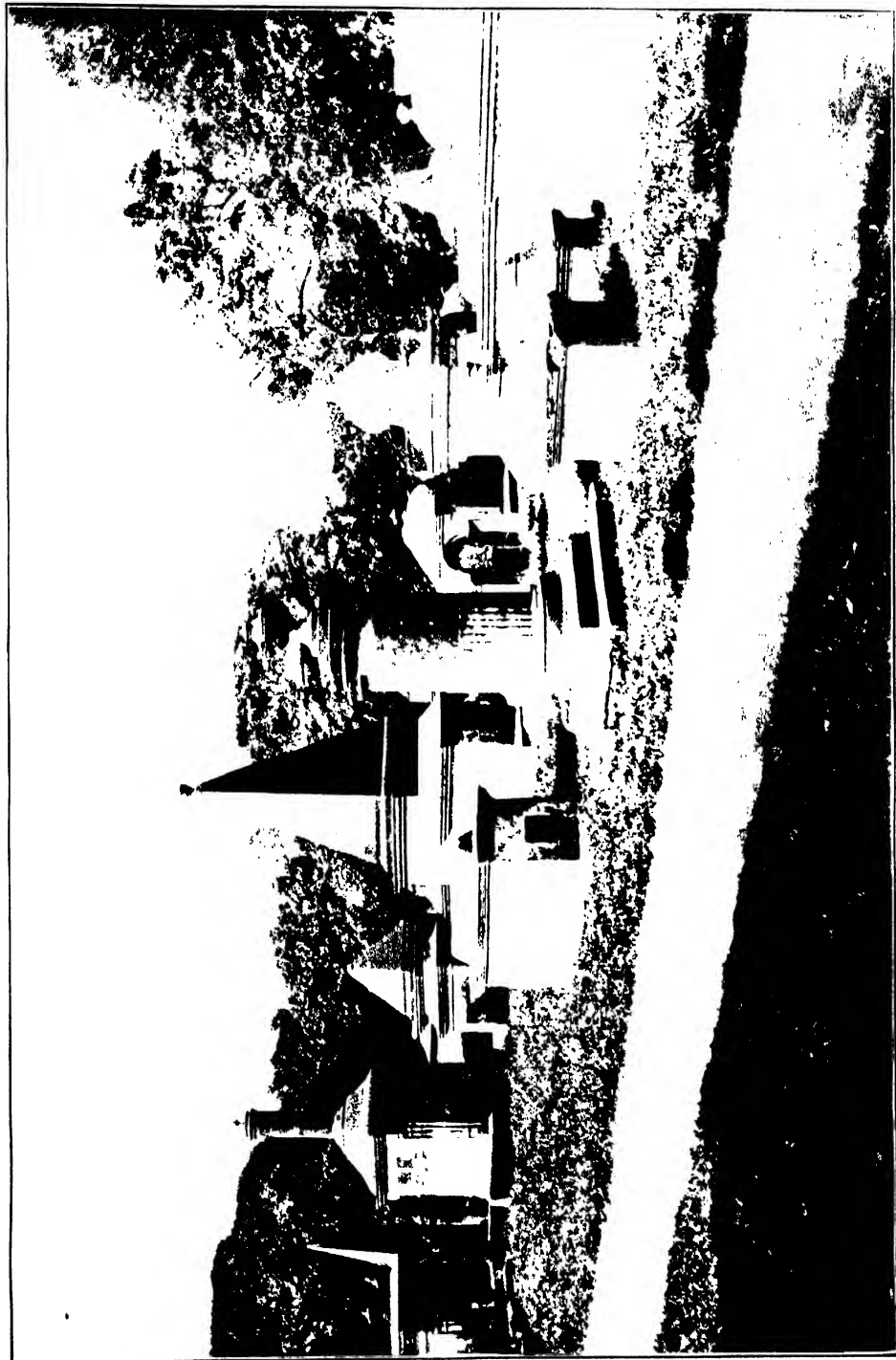
[*This tablet is broken and lies on the ground. Conclusion lost.*]

37. Sacred / to the Memory of / CHRISTIANA MARGARET / Daughter of / John TYTLER and Anne Gallies his wife. / Born September 8, 1823. / Died December 21, 1823. / Of such is the Kingdom of heaven.

38. Here lies interred / HANNAH PAULINA the Daughter of BRYAN GLOVER. / Born the 30th December 1779. Died 27th August 1780.

39. Sacred to the Memory of / LIEUT. JOHN C. McDOUGALL / of H. M. 87th Fusileers who died at Monghyr / on the 28th April, 1881. / Aged 21.

40. Sacred / to the Memory of / BREVET ENSIGN WILLIAM GRAHAM / aged 86 years / who died at this place / Monghyr / on the 21st August 1829 / in the the respect and consideration of all around him / William Graham came out to India / a private in the Hon'ble Company's Army / In the year 1766 / Was honoured with the Brevet of Ensign. / Frugal and judicious in his course of life / after retiring from the active duties / of his profession, / he creditably educated his children and maintained his family / and accumulated a considerable fortune.



ONGHYR. OLD CEMETER
Photo by Walter K. Firminger.

41. GEORGE POYNITZ RICKETTS / Born 10th July 1774. Died 29th April 1815 / The goodness and benevolence of his heart, / the strict integrity of his character / endeared him to his many friends / and rendered his loss more severe / and irreparable to his affectionate wife / and numerous family connections.

42. ... of WILLIAM GARDNER / the Son of / Alan Gardner / Died the 24th August 1823. / Aged 2 years and one month.

GHAZIPUR.

(1). *Old Cemetery.**

1. Sacred to the Memory of / CAPTAIN JAMES ROBERTSON / of Engineers / This Monument is Erected / by His Affectionate and Grateful Wife / Sarah Anne Catherine Robertson. / Ob. 4th of November, 1810 / Aged 35 years.

2. Sacred / to the Memory (*sic*) / of MRS JANE STEWART, / who departed this life / on the 9th September / 1811 / Aged 59 years / This monument was erected by her / affectionate / husband / Charles Stewart.

3. In / memory / of JACOB RIDER ESQ. / who died regretted / on the 25th day / of August / 1809. / Aged 63 years.

4. Sacred to the Memory / of / LIEUT.-COL. P. PIGOTT / of the 6th Regiment of Native / Cavalry / who died at this Station on the / 12th of November 1800, Aged 46 years. / By his affectionate Friend, / Thomas Alcock.

5. Here are deposited / the Remains of / CAPTAIN WILLIAM MERCER / of / the Hon'ble Company's 5th Regiment N. Cavalry / Deceased 5th August 1801. / Aged 47 year.

6. To the Memory / of JOHN THRESHER, / Overseer in the Depy. Qr. Mr. Genl's Dept. / who died at this Station the 13th January / 1801 / Aged 59 years. / By his Affectionate Daughter.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT. P. HERRING / of H. M. 67th Regt. / who departed this life / on.....of June.....Aged 31[?] years.

8. Sacred / to the Memory (*sic*) / of JAMES RICHARDSON, / late Sergt. and Drum / Major, H. M. 67th Regt. of Foot, / who departed this / life the 6th day of June / 1810. Aged 28 years.

9. CHARLOTTE DE MOMET, / Born the 10th August 1829. / Died the 10th June / 1830.

* I noted also the graves of the following children of Robert and Catherine Barlow :—

- | | | |
|------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) Hilaire Elizabeth. | 5th September 1821. | Aged 1 year and 6 months. |
| (2) Arthur Pakenham. | 15th June 1819. | " 5 months and 2 days. |
| (3) Maria Catherine. | 7th September 1820. | " 2 years and 4 months. |
| (4) Francis George. | 11th August 1826. | " 10 months |
| (5) George. | 27th July 1817. | " 1 year and 3 months. |

10. JULES DE MOMET./ Ne le 6 Aout 1827. / Décédé le 13 Février. 1828.

11. JAS. TOOPER / died 19th April, 1816./ Aged 24 years / Also / THOS. DOLBY / died 19th September 1816. / Aged 42 years. / Both of the 17th Foot.

Stop poor Sinner ! Stop and think
Before you further go.
Will you sport upon the brink
Of everlasting woe ?

Once again I charge you stop,
For unless you warning take
Ere you are aware you drop
Into the eternal lake.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / the late MRS. HANNAH WARD, / who/ departed this life / the 14th September, 1817 / Aged 39 years.

13. Sacred / to the Memory of / MRS. ANN DELANEY, Wife of / Mr. Delaney Merchant / who died at Ghazeepore on / the 3rd Day of June, 1817. [*Continuation obliterated.*]

14. Sacred / to the Memory / of ELIZABETH / late wife of Lt. A. CHILD/ of H. M. 24th Foot who departed / this life on the 7th May 1819/ Aged 38th years. / Erected as a tribute of affectionate/ regard and esteem by her afflicted / Husband.

15. Sacred to the Memory of / CAPTAIN R. H. BUCHANAN / 2nd Battn. 24 Reg. N. I. / who departed this life on the 10th of May, / 1816 / Aged 32 years./ Erected / as a Mark of Esteem and Regard / By the Officers of His Corps.

16. Sacred / to the Memory of / MR. WILLIAM WARD / late of Mahomedabad / who Departed this Life / on the 2nd Day of September / 1812 / Aged 39 years.

17. To the Memory / of / BREVI MAJOR MYLNE / of His Majesty's 24th Dragoons, / who died at Ghazeepore / on the 5th Day of November, 1815. / Aged 47 years.

18. Sacred / to the memory / of / ENSN. E. W. CHAMBERLAIN / of His Majesty's 24th Regiment of / Foot / who departed this life the 21st / of June 1814. / Aged 16 years. / Erected / as a mark of esteem and regard by the / Officers of his Corps.

19. Sacred / to the Memory / of / MR. JOHN BUR / who departed this life / 10th May 1818. / Aged 32 years.

20. Sacred / to the / Memory / of / HARRIOT / wife of Mr. James



GHAZIPUR. IN OLD CEMETERY.



GHAZIPUR. ALTAR-SHAPED MONUMENTS.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.

WATSON. Merchant of this / Station / who departed this / life on the 10th day of.....A. D. 1819.[?]

21. In memory of / MRS. ANN REILLY, / wife of Nicho. Reilly B. E. H. / who died 24th January 1821 / Aged 31 years. / Also of JOHN NICHOLSON / Son of the Above / who died 25th.....1821.

(2). *New Cemetery.*

22. Sacred / to / the Memory of / JAMES FINLAY, / Late of H. Ms. 3rd Regt. / A Volunteer from the 1st Bengal Regt. of Foot, / who departed this / life August the 17th / 1834. / Aged 32 years. / Leaving a wife and child / to lament his loss. / This Tomb was erected as a Tribute of affection / by his Widow.

23. In Memory of / JEAN. / Wife of William Orde Ruspini, / District Chaplain. / Born 7th February 1815 / Entered into rest 25th September 1834. [*Texts not transcribed.*]

24. To the Memory of / WILLIAM FIRTH ESQUIRE / Companion of the most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, / Lieutenant-Colonel H. M. 38th Regt. / Born July 1780. / Died 27th May 1831. / This Column / has been raised as a tribute of their / sincere esteem and respect by the / Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers / and Privates of the Corps.

25. Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT.-COL. HENRY HAWTREY, / Commanding the 5th Light Cavalry. / Died 7th July 1833. / This Monument is erected as a mark of respect / By the Officers of his Corps.

26. Sacred / to / the / Memory of ANN / Daughter of Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. / Doveton, who dep- / arted this life on / the 19th November, 1826 / in the 17th year of her age.

27. To the Memory / of / LT.-COL. I. C. L. CARTER / His M's. 44 Regt. / who departed this life / the 5th September 1827 / Aged 45 years.

28. Sacred / ot the Memory of / CORNWALLIS LA TOUCHE ESQ., / Bengal Civil Service / who died at Ghazeepore / on the 27th April 1837. / Aged 29th / The Tribute of attached friends.

29. Sacred / to the Memory of / LT.-COL. F. M MILLER C. B. / of H. M. 87th Regt. / who departed this life / the 18th May 1823. / This Monument is erected as a token of sincere affection / by his Brother Officers / by whom his numerous virtues / as a Man and a Soldier / will be long and deeply lamented.

30. To the beloved Memory of / EDWARD PLANTAGANET ROBIN HOOD HASTINGS / Fourth Son of Hans Francis / 12th Earl of Hartington / who died at Ghazeepore / on the 17th day of October 1857. / Aged 39 years / Jesus said. Weep not: he is not dead but sleepeth.

31. In affectionate / Remembrance / of THE VEN. JOHN HENRY PRAIT / M.A., F.R.S. / Archdeacon of Calcutta / who died of Cholera / at Ghazepore / December 28th / 1871 / in his 63rd year / Having just entered / on his Final Visitation / after a residence / in India of 33 years. / "A good soldier of Jesus / Christ. 2 Tim. 11.4." "Be thou faithful into / death and I will give thee a Crown of life. Rev. 11-10."

(3). *Ghazipur Church.*

32. M. S. / CHEVALIER ANTOINE DE L'ETANG. / Kt. of St. Louis. / Born 20th July, 1754. / Died 11th December 1840.

Lt. EUGENE DE L'ETANG, / 1st Europe Regiment. / Born 5th May 1803 / Died 15th November, 1829 / Requiescat in pace.

33. In Memory of / CAPT. THE HONORABLE EDWARD / PLANTAGANET ROBINHOOD HASTINGS, / late of the 32nd Regiment N. I. / He died at Ghazepore, / Aged 39 years / from the effects of exposure / during Major V. Eyre's / memorable advance from Buxar / to the Relief / of the Arrah Garrison / in July and August 1857. / This Tablet is erected by his Companions / in arms and by his friends who were / so timely succoured by an Expedition / which owed much of its origin and of its / brilliant success to his self-devotion, / energy, and distinguished courage.

34. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE WILSON, Esq., / who departed this life / on the 3rd of April, 1885—, Aged XLVIII.

35. Sacted / to the Memory of ANNE ALEXANDER / Wife of A. C. HEYLAND Esqr., / Judge of this District. / Born March 30th 1808, died Oct. 11th, 1839 of Ghazepore. And all wept and bewailed her: but He said Weep not: She is not dead but sleepeth.

DINAPUR.

At Dinapur there are two closed cemeteries and one open. Here, as at Ghazipur, a friable kind of sandstone has been made use of for memorial tablets. I was with difficulty just able to make out the names of Robert Hutchison and Mrs. Eliza Mench [?] on two tombs.

In the oldest cemetery there is a rather long row of graves belonging to the Penhearow family. The inscription on the first grave has worn away, but it commemorates a Mr. Elizab Penhearow. I had not sufficient time to transcribe the inscriptions, but I noted that the second and third inscriptions are seemingly to the parents of the children whose graves follow as—

1. Daniel Penhearow. Born 23rd December 1800. Died 1st May 1876.
2. Elizabeth Haig. Wife of Daniel Penhearow, Senior. Born 1812. Died 1866.



CHUPRA. DUTCH TOMBS.



CHUPRA. DUTCH TOMBS.

Photos by Walter K. Firminger.

The children are—

Samuel.	Died 24th June 1859.	Aged 12 years 6 months 2 days.
Joel.	Born 27th January 1859.	Died February 1859.
Priscilla.	Died 22nd June 1857.	Aged 11 years 11 months 4 days.
Benzamin	Died 23rd April 1849.	Aged 1 year 1 month.
Hannah.	Died 27th May 1843.	Aged 11 years 6 months 8 days.
Sarah.	Died 1st July 1842.	Aged 9 months 20 days.
Jonathan.	Died 21st May 1840	Aged 4 years 1 month 15 days.

(1). *First Old Cemetery.*

1. In Memory of / JAMES GEE / of Dinapore / who departed this life / 1790.

2. In / Memory of Lt. JOHN STEWART / Commissary of Ordnance / who died January 1795 / Aged 44 years.

3. ISABELLA ELIZABETH SPENS / Sister of Colonel Norman Macleod / married / Captain James Spens 73rd Regt. / November 25th. Died December 19th, 1787. / The joy of the Husband and Brother / was short / and their regret will be lasting.

4. M. S. / ELIZAE. Fil. / Guil. WOOD : Duc. / Ob XXIV August / A. C / MDCCCLXXXII.

5. Sacred to the Memory of / ELIZABETH MANN / who departed this life on the / 10th August / 1793. Aged 44 years. / This Monument is ere (*sic*) by her most disconsolate / and ever regretting hu-band / Robert Mann / Marchant (*sic*, at Dinapore.

6. In memory of / LIEUT. ALEXR. GUTHRIE who died at Dinapore the 2nd of May 1785 / Aged 34 years. / A man of the most / benevolent disposition and tenderly / affectionate Brother and sincere / Friend and agreeable Companion, / who was much esteemed by his / Brother officers and other friends. [*Conclusion not transcribed*].

7. To the Memory / of CAPT. HENRY GRAHAM / of His Majesty's 73rd Regt. / Obiit. Anno MDCCCLXXXVII. / Aetat XXIII

8. In Memory / of JANET Wife of / J. STORMONT, / who died at Dinapore / the 2nd April / 1786. Aged 29 years. [*Conclusion not transcribed.*]

9. THOMAS HUMFRAYS / Died September 17th, 1784 Aged 10 months.

10. To the Memory of / ARTHUR AHMUTTY, Esq., Colonel in the Service of / the Honourable East India Company, who departed this life / the 6th day of December, 1793 / at Dinapore / Aged LXIII years.

11. Here lyeth the body ; of ALEXR. SAVILE SHAND / who departed this life October 10th, / 1792 / Aged 27 years.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / LIEUT.-GENL. SAM'L. WATSON / who served the Hon'ble Company / faithfully / for forty-six years / and departed this life on the 11th of July / Anno Domini 1814 / Aged 65 years. / I am the Resurrection and the life / Saith the Lord / He that believeth in Me / though he be dead / yet shall he live / and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me / shall never die. / Respectfully inscribed / by an afflicted / and affectionate Daughter.

13. HENRY GOODELL, Son of / Goodell, Sergt. / 5th European Regt. / who died ye 25th of July 1793 / Aged 1 year 3 months, and 24 days..... Opening bud thy early infant charms / saw well pleased, and snatched ye to its arms.

14. ROBERT DOWNES, A.M. / Catherine Hall, Cambridge. / Died 25th June 1771 / Aged 26 years.

15. To the Memory of / LIEUT.-COLONEL / JAMES BROWNE / who departed this life / June 22nd, 1790. / Aged 48.

(2). *Second Old Cemetery.*

16. Erected by his Brother Officers to the Memory of / CAPTAIN CHARLES DUNBAR, His Majesty's 10th Regiment / Killed in Action with the Mutineers near Arrah / July 29th 1857. / Aged 51 years.

[*On other side.*]

Erected by his Brother Officers to the Memory of / ENSIGN HENRY JAMES ERSKINE, His Majesty's 10th Regiment / who died at Dinapore July 31st 1857 from wounds received in / Action with the Mutineers near Arrah. July 29th. / Aged 29 years.

17. MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN ST. LEGER / Died 29th July 1799. Aged 42.

18. Sacred / to the Memory of / SPENCER DYER / Merchant / who departed this life / 28th May 1810 / Aged 42 years.

(3). *Cemetery in Present use.*

19. Sacred / to the Memory of / STANLAKE HENRY BATSON, M. D. / Surgeon Major / Bengal Medical Service / Retired List. / Died August 27th A. D. 1869. / Aged 59. / Field Surgeon to the Force before / Delhi during the Mutiny / A. D. 1857- / " In the shadow of Thy wings shall be my refuge / until this tyranny be over-past / Ps. LVII. / Also of CAROLINE MARY his wife / Born May 17th..... Died September 19th, 1880. / Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life.

— — —
PURNEAH.

Old Cemetery.

1. Sacred / to the Memory of / JAMES COLNETT GREAVES, / who died on the 3rd April 1825. / Aged one year.

2. Sacred / to the Memory of / CAPTAIN WILLIAM MACPHERSON / of the 24th Regiment Native Infantry, / who departed this life / on the 14th September 1819. / Aged 35 years. / In him without Flattery may be said / there combined the Suaviter in Modo / with the Fortiter in Re.

3. Sacred to the Memory of / CHARLES GRCEME, JUNIOR ESQ., / Judge and Magistrate of Purnea, / who departed this life on the 24th April, 1804. / Aged 31 years 7 months, / An affectionate Husband, Father, Son and Brother, / a warm Friend, zealous upright Magistrate / He liv'd beloved and respected : / and died sincerely lamented.

4. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOHN CHARLES JOHNSON. / Bora 7th February, 1818 A. D. / Died 15th December 1860 A. D. / In the midst of life / we are in death.

5. Sacred / to the Memory of / REBECCA, / WIFE OF / CAPTAIN JOHN LITTLEDALE GALE / who departed this Life / the 6th August 1826 / aged 26 years / also of / CHARLES EDWARD and JAMES / their Children.

6. Dedicated / to the Memory of / CAPTAIN AND MRS. ISAAC ROWE, / who departed this life in the year 1808.

Death, cruel spoiler, tears (*sic*) each tender tie

And each new day inflicts a newer pain.

Yet severed Friends in joy shall live once more,

And bind anew the ties that death had rent.

And they who loved on transient earth before

Shall meet to love eternally in heaven.

7. In Memory of / ROBERT JARRETT / who departed this life / the 27th February 1805. / Aged 60 years.

8. Sacred / to the Memory of / P. L. FLOR, M.D., / who died at Purneah / the 28th August 1778. / Aged 40 years. [*Persian or Urdu lines follow.*]

9. Sacred / to the Memory / of / Mr. GEORGE MARQUIS / who died at Gondwarra / on the 27th of July 1811. / Aged 23 years / This Monument is erected / by his affectionate Brother who will ever deplore / his premature / fate.

10. Sacred / To the Memory / of / Lieut. ALEXANDER McVEAGH, / who died May 6th, 1780. / Aged 22.

11. To the Memory / of / WILLIAM SCOTT, ESQ., / who died on the 13th August / 1792. / Aged 40 years

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / THOS. C. SCOTT, ESQ., / late Register, Acting Judge, and / Magistrate of the District, / who died on the 7th day of March 1811. / Aged 29 years. / This Monument is Erected / By two of his most intimate / Friends who despair of / Ever seeing his like again.

13. To the Memory of / JOHN HANNAY, ESQ., / late Judge and

Magistrate / of the Zillah of Purneah, / who died on the 19th September, 1795. Aged 50 years.

14. To the Memory of / J. A. DAVIDSON, ESQ. / Assistant Surgeon / Died at this Station / In the year of our Lord / 1819 /.

15. Sacred / to the Memory of / MARIA / wife of / CAPTAIN WILLIAM BERTRAM / Barrack Master / 16th Division Barrack Department / who departed this life / at Purneah on the 10th of February 1825. / Aged 26 years.

16. Sacred / to the Memory of / ELIZABETH PETRIE Relict of JOHN ANGUS MACLEAN / who departed this life / 27th May, 1829, / aged 52 years. / This Monument was Erected / by her affectionate Daughter Catherine Kerry.

17. In / Memory / of / FREDERICK WILLIAM / who died at Purneah on the 18th day of August 1828. / Aged eleven months and twenty-five days. The only son of Frederick and Anne CORFIELD.

18. Sacred / to the Memory of J. V. BISCO, ESQ., / Died at Purneah / On the 26th July 1827. / In the 35th year of his Age.

19. In Memory of JAMES KING KILLWICK / who departed this life / 1st of December 1843. / Aged 25 years.

20. Sacred / to the Memory of / THE HON'BLE F. DRUMMOND, / Magistrate of Purneah / who died the 15th May, 1848. / Aged 26 years. This Monument is raised / By the Residents of the District / In token of their sense / of His worth. [*Remainder illegible.*]

21. In / Memory of ALEXANDER TURNBULL, Lieutenant of His Majesty's VIIIth Bengal European Regiment / and Commandant of the IIIrd Police Battalion. / Died March 14th 1859. Aged 34 years. / Surely I come quickly. Amen / Even so come Lord Jesus. Revelation. XXII, 29.

22. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE PALMER, ESQ., / who departed this life / on the 10th September, A. D. 1846 / Etat 44 years. / He lived beloved and respected / By both the rich and poor / and died regretted by all. / Requiescat in pace. / [*4 lines of Urdu or Persian follow.*]

23. [The following inscription is much defaced, and I had not time to attempt to copy the closing lines.]

Her[e] is in] terred /of / [Ja]mes..... Steel, [Surg]eon in the Service of / The Honourable East India Company / who departed this life / On the.....of June 1791.

BUXAR.

There is in this burial ground a large masonry structure evidently intended as the basis of a mausoleum. The Executive Engineer informed me that

* There is a tablet to George Palmer in St. John's Church, Calcutta.

according to local tradition the English soldiers who died on the famous battlefield of Buxar are buried here. This tomb is numbered 35 on the official plan of the cemetery.

1. Sacred / to the Memory / of / LIEUT. W. INNES, XII Regt. Inf. / Son of Colonel Innes C. B. Bengal N. I. / Died August 25th / 1832 / As a testimony of their esteem. / This Monument is erected / by the officers in his Regiment. /

2. Sacred / to the Memory of / MR. ANN TOONE / Wife of / Lieut.-Colonel*Toone / Commanding this Station / whose Philanthropy / endeared her to her Family, / Friends and all who knew / Her Worth / Obijt 10th August A. D. 1811.

3. Sacred / to the Memory of / E. M. STERLING / Wife of / Captain R. C. Sterling / of the 7th Native Cavalry / who departed this life / on the 7th of April 1811. / Aged 30 years. / This Monument was erected / By his disconsolate Parents.

4. Sacred / to the / Memory of MAJOR JOHN LINDSAY, / of the 10th Regiment Native / Infantry, who died on the 22nd . of October 1817 / Aged .. years. / An excellent disposition / and sound judgment added to / integrity of principle and / sincerity of heart endeared him to all ; and beloved by his / Friends, he died respected / as an officer and lamented as a man.

5. This Monument / is erected / by the officers / of the 36th Native Infantry / to the Memory of / MAJOR WILLIAM GAGE / of that Regiment / who died at Buxar / while proceeding to the Presidency / on the 28th March, 1829.

6. Sacred / to / the Memory of / CAPTAIN ALEXANDER COCK, / 6th Regiment Light Cavalry who departed this / life 21st September 1823 in the 37th year of his Age / This Monument is erected by his beloved wife as the last honor / she could show towards a kind and affectionate husband / whose loss she will as long as breath remains lament, /

O thou removed from this world's strife.

Whose relics here below are laid,

May peace who watched thy harmless life

In death protect thy harmless shade.

Yet not alone around thy bier.

Thy Charlott's sighs unfeign'd ascend.

The mourner's pity drops a tear.

And virtue weeps a vanished friend.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / JOHN GIBBS / LT.-COLONEL / Commandant of Buxar / who departed this life / on the / 7th December 1847 / Aged 47 years / This tomb is erected as a / Tribute due to departed / worth by his affectionate Lady / M. A. May.

8. To / the Memory / of / LIEUT. JOHN HAMILTON SMITH / Adjutant and Quarter-Master / 5th Sepoy Brigade / Who departed this life / the 12th of September 1789.

9. Sacred / to the Memory / of ENSIGN / JOHN BECHEATON / of the 9th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry / who died at Buxar on the 31st January / 1811. Aged 15 years. / This Monument is erected / by his Brother Officers as a mark / of their affection and esteem.

10. To the / Memory / of LIEUT. RANDOLPH RANSFORD / who died / the 19th of April 1783. / Aged 39 years. / Dedicated by his affectionate Friend, / Major Thomas Gardiner.

11. In Memory / of WILLIAM CHARLO / who departed this life 14th July / 1800 / Aged 44 years.

12. To the Memory / of / CAPTAIN PETER DAVIS / who departed this life most sincerely regretted / on the 13th day of March 1788. / Aged 51 years. / This Monument is erected / by his Brother Officers.

GYA.

Closed Cemetery.

1. Sacred / to the Memory of / FRANCIS GILLANDERS, Esq., / many years Collector of Taxes / on Pilgrims at Gya, / who departed this life / on the 27th August 1821. / Aged sixty years. / A faithful and zealous discharge of public duty / Secured him the most unqualified approbation of Government. / An intimate knowledge of Indian character and customs / With his great attention to the wants and comforts / Of the Pilgrims visiting the sacred Temples at Gya / Gained him the utmost veneration and regard, / Whilst many able qualities and a blameless life / and the practice of every virtue within his reach / Placed him high in the esteem and affection of his Friends / by whom this Monument is erected to record his worth.

2. Sacred / to the Memory of / LEWIS DANNIEL, / Assistant Surgeon / who departed this life / on the 29th January / A. D. 1819 / Aged 25 years.

3. Erected by their Brother Seamen / to the Memory of / HENRY WHITE, / JAMES ALLAN, / JOHN SYVETT, / JOHN ANSON, / HENRY SCOTT, / THOMAS McCAULAY, / THOMAS ALLEN, / J. BRUCE, / HENRY DROUGHT, / GEORGE LEMON, / JAMES ALLEN, / No. 1 Company. No. 5 I. N. Brigade / who died of disease while serving at Gya / during that year of sorrow 1857-58 / Their warfare is accomplished. / Isaiah XI. 2.

4. Sacred / to the Memory of / CAPT. THOS. C. GRAY, R. M. L. I. / of the Shannon's Naval Brigade. / Died May 8th, 1858. Aged 37. / At Gya

of Dysentery. / This monument is erected / By the officers of the *Shannon* / who lost in him a valiant comrade / and much esteemed friend.

5. Sacred to the Memory of / HENRY HODGSON SCOTT, / Son of / Robert Hodgson Scott, C.S. / Born 2nd October 1856 at Dacca / Died 27th February 1857 at Gya. / "Their Angels [etc., St. Math. XVIII, o]."

6. Sacred / to the Memory of / FRANCIS CHARLES ANNESLEY / Captain H. M. 60th Rifles / and 3rd son of the late Captain the Hon'ble Francis Charles Annesley, R. N. / who departed this life / on the 30th May* 1854 / Aged 31 years and 11 months.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / ELIZABETH, / the beloved wife of / Charles GARSTIN, Esq., / of the Civil Service / who departed this life / on the 22nd August 1843 / in the 24th year of her age / "Her end was perfect peace." /

8. Sacred / to the Memory of CHARLOTTE LOUISA, eldest daughter of / the Hon'ble Edmund DRUMMOND / of the Civil Service / Born on the 16th January 1840. / Died on the 26th July 1844. / Suffer the little children to come unto / Me, and forbid them not, for of such is / the Kingdom of Heaven.

9. [*Not copied in full*] DUNCAN CRAUFORD McLEOD, C.S. Born in Fort William, 1st May 1808. Died at Gya 16th June 1833.

SHERGATHI.

1. Sacred to the Memory / of CHARLES PATTON, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, / who died on the 9th July 1813. Aged 30. / Deservedly respected by the Native population of these / Provinces for a faithful zealous and honorable discharge / of his public duties and endeared to his relations and / friends by the warmth of his affections and the benevolence of his heart.

2. LT.-COLONEL SAMUEL JONES. / Died the 29th June 1802 / Aged 40 years.

3. THOMAS PALMER. / Obiit September 24th 1799 / Ætatis 27.

4. WILLIAM SMITH, Esq., / Late Register of Ramghur. / Departed this life / on the 3rd October 1821. / Aged 30 years.

5. Sacred / to the Memory of / HESTER DANCE, / Infant daughter of Nathaniel SMITH and Eliza his wife, / who departed this life / May 4th / 1822. / Aged 5 months and 20 days. / And Jesus said, suffer little children / and forbid them not to come into Me / for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

6. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE HOGSFLESH, / Gunner of the Bengal Artillery, / Overseer of the Grand Trunk Road. / Died the 22nd July 1847 / Aged 32 years and nine months.

* An inscription on another side gives the date of death as 29th May.

7. Sacred / to the Memory of / CHARLES O'CONNOR / of the Department of Public Works, / Overseer of the Grand Trunk Road. / Died 27th July 1847. / Aged 45 years.

8. C. W. MORAVIA.

9. Sacred / to the Memory of / CHARLOTTE AMELIA, / Second Daughter of GEORGE THOMAS. / Born 9th November 1842 / and departed this life / 13 April 1844.

Silent be all my anxious fears,
My heart no more repine ;
Since Jesus in His bosom wears
The flower that once was mine.

10. Sacred / to the Memory of / GEORGE, / Infant Son of GEORGE THOMAS. / Born 13th October / and departed this life / 2nd November 1845. [*Verse not copied.*]

11. To the Memory of / ELLEN ELIZA, / the beloved wife of / CHARLES VON BIBRA, / who died at Dobee G. T. R. / on the 28th December 1868 / in her 23rd year.

12. Sacred / to the Memory of / WILLIAM CHARLES, / Infant Son of / Fulwer Craven FOWLE. / Bengal Civil Service / Died 11th August 1853. / Aged 1 year 4 months and 11 days. / Suffer the little children to come / unto Me, and forbid them not for / of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

13. Sacred / to the Memory of / WELLS BUTLER, ESQ., / of the / Bengal Civil Service, / Youngest Son of / Henry and Ann Butler / of Royston, Cambridgeshire, England. / Born at Royston, June 27th 1833. Died at Shergotty, June 20th 1859.

BALASORE.

Old English Burial Ground.

1. Here lyeth the body of / ELIZABETH PLAYDEL* who / departed this life the 10th day / of August, ye year of our Lord 1758. / Aged 19 years.

2. 1684. / Here lies the body of ANN, late wife of Captain Francis / WILSHAW / who died ye pmo. 9 bris. Aged 26 years. / Also the Body of EDWARD, his son, who deceased 27th of the same month. / 4 years. Anno Domini 1684.

3. Here lyeth the body of / ISABELL KELSALL who departed this life the 28th day of / April in ye year of our Lord, / 1751. / Aged 17 years.

Old Dutch Burial Ground.

1. Michel Jans / Burggraaf / Vanseven / Huisen obiit / 23rd November / 1696.

2. in Bella—8 y ULIA.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.*

* A well intentioned restorer has painted over two inset letters of this name and made the name "Playad."

Calcutta Historical Society.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held on the 17th March 1916 at 6-30 P.M., in the Hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Lord Carmichael, presided. There were present (1) the Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., (2) Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K.C.I.E., Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, G.I.F., the Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Roy, Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur, Rai Lalit Mohan Sing Bahadur, Mr. H. G. Graves, Mr. F. C. Scallan, Mr. G. O'Connell, Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., Lt.-Col. N. T. Parker, Mr. S. C. Sanial and several others.

In opening the meeting His Excellency said that the Society had not prospered greatly during the year just ended. The income was considerably less than before, and he suggested that during the coming year they should set themselves to increase the interest taken in the society. A suggestion had been made by one of the members, Mr. F. C. Scallan, of the Surveyor-General's Office, that the name should be altered from the Calcutta Historical Society to that of the Bengal Historical Society. He thought it was a very good suggestion, because the work of the Society was not confined to Calcutta alone, but to the whole of the Province, and the change of name might commend itself to those in the mofussil interested in historical research. Another suggestion was that they should have as Vice-Presidents men who took an active interest in the Society. He understood that Vice-Presidents hitherto had been gentlemen who were excellent Vice-Presidents in many ways, but who did not take much interest in the business of the society. One name, that of Colonel Buchanan, stood out among the new Vice-Presidents. His Excellency said they could not have a better man, because his interest in historical research was known to everybody. He wondered whether something could be done to stimulate the interest of members to make individual efforts in original historical research. One point had been brought to his notice, *vis.*, the need of tracing the history of the names of Calcutta streets. Very little was known of Calcutta history between 1785 and 1850. If any members had time to examine the files of the old newspapers or periodicals, they would probably obtain interesting information about old street names. His Excellency concluded by paying tribute to the splendid work done in the interests

of the society by Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger and Mr. S. C. Sanial, the Hon. Secretary.

The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D., in moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts for 1915 as circulated to the Members (*taken as read*) said that the year had opened with a balance in hand of Rs. 860, and had closed with the reduced amount of Rs. 372. They had fewer members owing to the circumstances of the war. He would have preferred to see the list of new members larger than ten. He referred to the late James Campbell Mitchell, and said that by his death the society had sustained a great loss, for his place as an organiser would be difficult to fill. He had died the death of a patriot, and the society was very proud of the fact that it had his name on its rolls.

Lt.-Col. W. J. Buchanan, C.I.E., seconded the motion which was carried.

Mr. H. G. Graves moved the election of the following Members to constitute the Council of the Society for 1916 with power to add to their number:—

President—His Excellency the Governor of Bengal.

Vice-Presidents:—Sir Charles Bayley, G. C. S. I., etc., Sir Harry Stephen, Kt.; Sir Robert Fulton, Kt.; Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C. I. E.

Members:—The Hon'ble Maharaja Dhiraj of Burdwan, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., (2) Maharaja Sir P. C. Tagore, Kt., (3) The Hon'ble Raja Rishi Kesh Law, C. I. E., (4) Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E., (5) The Hon'ble Mr. J. G. Cumming, C. S. I., (6) The Ven'able Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., (7) Mr. W. R. Gourlay, I. C. S., (8) Mr. A. Cassells, I. C. S., (9) The Hon'ble Mr. F. H. Stewart, C. I. E., (10) Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri, (11) Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C. I. E., (12) The Hon'ble Rai Preo Nath Mookerjee Bahadur, (13) The Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Kesteven, (14) The Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi, K. C. S. I. of Kasimbazar, (15) The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Roy, (16) The Hon'ble Mr. W. W. Hornell; (17) Messrs R. D. Mehta, C. I. E., (18) G. B. McNair; (19) F. C. Scallan; (20) J. A. L. Swan; (21) E. W. S. Russell; (22) H. G. Graves; (23) W. C. Beaumont; (24) H. A. Stark; (25) Khan Bahadur Dewan Fazl Rubbee; (26) Mr. C. F. Hooper; (27) A. G. Macpherson; (28) the Rev. C. J. Grimes; (29) Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Bahadur; (30) Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitra; B. L. (31) Mr. J. H. Little, B. A.; (32) Professor E. F. Oaten, M. A.; (33) The Rev. H. F. F. Williams.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

Sir R. N. Mookerjee K.C.I.E., moved election of the following Members to form the Executive Committee of the Society for 1916 with power to add to their number:—

(1) Lt. Col. W. J. Buchanan, C. I. E., (2) The Hon'ble Rai Preonath Mookerjee Bahadur; (3) Mr. R. D. Mehta, C. I. E.; (4) The Ven: Archdeacon W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., (5) Mr. H. G. Graves; (6) Mr. J. A. L. Swan, I. C. S.; (7) Mr. C. F. Hooper; (8) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice A. Chowdhuri; (9) Mr. E. W. S. Russell; (10) The Rev. H. F. F. Williams; (11) The Honry. Treasurer; (12) The Honry. Secretary.

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., moved the reappointment of Sir R. N. Mookerjee, K. C. I. E., and Mr. S. C. Sanial to act respectively as Hony. Treasurer and Hony. Secretary of the Society for 1916.

The motion was seconded by the Hon'ble Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur and was carried.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Roy moved the reappointment of the Ven: Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., and Mr. S. C. Sanial to act respectively as Editor and Assistant Editor of *Bengal Past & Present* for 1916.

This was seconded by Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Bahadur and was carried.

The Ven. Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A.B.D. proposed that Dr. David Spooner of the Archeological Survey Department of Bihar and Orissa Government be elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

This was seconded by Mr. S. C. Sanial and was carried.

With a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding, moved by Mr. R. D. Mehta, C.I.E., the meeting separated.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL REPORT.

For the year ending 31st December, 1915.

Office-bearers :—At the last general meeting held on the 9th March 1915, the Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M. A., B. D., resigned the Presidentship of the Society, and His Excellency the Governor of Bengal was graciously pleased to succeed him. In August last the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Herbert Holmwood was obliged, owing to his ill health, to resign the Vice-Presidentship of the Society. Sir R. N. Mookerjee and Mr. S. C. Sanial continued to act respectively as Hony. Treasurer and Hony. Secretary of the Society.

Membership :—The Society deeply regrets the loss sustained by the death of the following members :—

- (1). Sir Robert Laidlaw.
- (2). Mr. C. H. Mead.
- (3). Mr. C. J. A. Pritchard.
- (4). Mr. Irenec Lehuraux.
- (5). The Rev. Mr. E. M. Wheeler.
- (6). Babu Raj Chandra Chandra.

It is with the deepest regret that the Council also records the death of Mr. James Campbell Mitchell, in the service of the King-Emperor in Mesopotamia. Mr. Mitchell for a long time was Secretary of the Society, and to him, in no small degree, the Society owed its continued existence and financial prosperity.

The following members resigned :—

1. Mr. J. W. Baker.
2. „ A. A. Brown.
3. „ Lionel Burrows.
4. „ D. A. Darvid,
5. „ John Davenport.
6. „ W. Dillon.
7. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Fletcher.
8. Mr. R. Godwin.
9. „ A. P. Muddiman.
10. „ P. M. Robertson.
11. „ J. N. Sammadder.

12. Dr. M. L. Smith.
13. Mr. W. T. Spink.
14. „ T. W. Spink.
15. Mrs. Stewart.
16. Mr. A. P. Stockwell.
17. Sir F. G. Dumayne.
18. Mr. D. F. Mackenzie.
19. Mr. A. Topping.
20. Mr. T. H. D. Latouche.

Under the operation of Rule 13 twenty one members ceased to be members of the Society during the year.

During the year the following gentlemen joined the Society as new members :—

1. Mr. O. F. Argles.
2. „ T. H. S. Biddulph, C. I. E.
3. Sir Hugh Daly, K. C. S. I.
4. The Rev. Mr. C. J. Grimes.
5. Mr. A. Lehuraux.
6. The Right Rev. Dr. George Lefroy.
7. The Hon'ble Raja Rishi Kesh Law, C. I. E.
8. Lt. Col. N. T. Parker.
9. The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Roy.
10. Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Bahadur.

A complete list of the members is appended with this report.

Bengal Past and Present :

Nos. 18, 19, 20 & 21 of the Society's journal were published during the year and No. 22 is in the press. The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger and Mr. S. C. Sanial continued to act respectively as Editor and Assistant Editor of "Bengal Past & Present" The consolidated index of volumes one to eight has been published and is sold at Rs. 3 a copy.

Excursions :

No excursions have taken place during the year.

Finance :

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The Black Hole.

FULL PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEBATE.

A special meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held on the 24th March 1916 at 9 P. M. in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to have a discussion on the Black Hole Question. The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, M.A., B.D. presided. Mr. J. H. Little, who started the controversy in the pages of *Bengal Past & Present*, opened the debate :—

MR. J. H. LITTLE :—

I SHALL place before you all the contemporary evidence we have in favour of the Black Hole story ; I shall show that this evidence is neither great in quantity nor trustworthy in character ; then I shall give you three good reasons for rejecting the evidence which are quite independent of its unsatisfactory character. I have assumed that you have read my article in the Society's Journal and have omitted as much of that as I could.

Take any historian you please who has written on the subject and you will find that he has derived his information, directly or indirectly, from Holwell's Narrative or from Cooke's Evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons or from both. These are the two primary authorities for the story. I have dealt at length with Holwell's Narrative in *Bengal Past & Present* and I need not go over the ground again, but there is one point in connection with the Narrative which I have not treated in an adequate manner and another which I have not mentioned at all. The former point is this. Holwell's Narrative is essentially different from the original story he told. He has omitted, he has altered, he has added. The main outlines of the story concocted in Calcutta before the prisoners were dispersed will be found in a letter written by Francis Sykes at Cossimbazar on the 8th July, 1756. Sykes gives the purport of a letter which Holwell, who had just passed Cossimbazar on his way to Murshidabad, wrote to the Englishmen who were there and he informs us that Holwell made the following startling statement :— "all the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole the Nabob's people kept firing at them through the door." Nor have we any reason to suppose that Sykes reported Holwell incorrectly for the same story was current at Fulta. Captain Grant wrote on the 13th July :—"Some of those who give us the account say that they fired upon them all night with small arms through the doors and windows, but this is contradicted by others." The Fulta story, too, sprang up quite independently of Sykes' letter for even assuming that his letter was sent direct to Fulta, and we do not know that it was sent there at all, it could not have reached Fulta before the 13th, the day on which Captain Grant wrote his account. The Consultations at Fulta given in Long's *Unpublished Records of Government* inform us that a letter of Warren Hastings' from Cossimbazar dated the 3rd October was received at Fulta on the 8th. In July it would probably have taken

longer. Why was this part of the story discarded? The reason is to be found in a letter written at Chandernagore on the 3rd July which relates that the two first days after the capture of the fort "passed in licence and all the disorders of a place taken by assault, with the exception of massacre to which the Moors are not accustomed in regard to people disarmed." This incident, then, was a fatal flaw in their story. People would say, perhaps they did say, "the Muhammadans of Bengal do not do such things." I think we have evidence, too, of how this incident was explained away. M. Law in his account of the tragedy has these words:—"The most bitter insults were employed to excite the rage of the Moors and persuade the guard to fire on the prisoners. One of the latter, seeing a pistol in the belt of a companion, seized it and fired on the Moors who were passing the window. The pistol had only powder in it, but the guards were so frightened that immediately several guns were thrust through the bars and fired several times. This was exactly what the wretched prisoners wanted. Every shot was a *coup-de-grace* which they strove with each other to obtain for themselves." No one else relates this incident. Unless Law is retailing idle rumour this is how Holwell explained away his former statement when he returned to Cossimbazar on the 19th July. In August Holwell amended his statement still further. He said the guards "ceased not insulting us the whole night." In his Narrative it was the prisoners who insulted the guards to provoke them to fire upon them and put an end to their misery. Holwell also made important additions to his original story. On the 3rd August he made lists of the victims and survivors of the tragedy and those two lists were, he declared, deficient in nothing. They contain the names neither of Leech nor of Mrs. Carey. Yet in the Narrative we have a pretty story about Leech and the statement that Mrs. Carey accompanied her husband into the prison.

The second point to which I referred is this. Hardly had Holwell put his Narrative together than, in the most deliberate manner, he knocked it to pieces again. He wrote the Narrative on his voyage home in the early part of 1757. In August he was in London and while there replied to a letter written by William Watts, chief of the factory at Cossimbazar. The letter of Watts was, in turn, a reply to a letter of Holwell's. Watts complained of Holwell's "laboured endeavours through five sheets of paper" to set his conduct in the worst possible light and pointed out that Holwell, when he surrendered Fort William, had five times the number of men that he had had at Cossimbazar. To this Holwell replied:—"Had not Mr. Watts been guided more by malice than truth in this and his subsequent interrogatories, he would, from the letter he is answering, have found the number left in the Factory did not exceed 170; that of these we had 25 killed and 70 wounded by noon, the 20th, and that every man who survived was exhausted of strength and vigour." The number of prisoners in the Black Hole was 146; but 25 from 170 leaves 145 and when we make further deductions for the deserters and those who escaped when the fort was taken* Holwell's

* "I did not advise that the guard there and a great part of the garrison, military and militia rushed out the moment the gate was opened and endeavoured to escape; many were killed, some escaped and others received quarter." Holwell's Letter of 3rd August, 1756.

Narrative is clearly absurd. But it may be asked ; Were there any non-combatants in the fort ? I have not been able to find a trace of any except women and children and these were allowed in the fort because their men folk refused to fight unless they were admitted. Is Holwell, regardless of consequences, trying to score a victory over Watts ? He is careful to point out that he made this particular statement in the letter to which Watts was replying. Did Holwell include all the defenders of the fort ? In the previous letter he had declared that the number included "officers, volunteers, soldiers and militia" ; that is, every class of men in the fort. Then Holwell is deliberately overthrowing his Narrative.

Cooke's Evidence was given in 1772 when Holwell's story had established itself. He states that nearly 150 souls were thrust into the dungeon among whom were one woman and twelve of the wounded officers. Picture the scene of 150 people being crammed into a room which would hardly hold them and then compare the picture of your imagination with the reality as described by Cooke. He says :—"The circumstances of the Black Hole affair, with all the horrors of that night, are so well known, and so much surpass any description that words can paint it in that I shall say no more upon that subject than that a little before eight we were all of us directed to withdraw and remain in a place contiguous to the Black Hole (where our soldiers were usually confined in the stocks). While we were wondering what this should mean and laughing at the oddity of it, a party of fellows came and ordered us to walk into the place before mentioned called the Black Hole, a room or rather dungeon, about 18 feet long and 14 wide, with only two holes, barricaded with iron bars, to let in air, which opened into a low piazza, where a guard was set. Into this hole we were forcibly crammed about eight o'clock in the evening, and the door immediately locked upon us." How simple it all was. One might almost believe those men wished to be shut up. I think, however, there would be no reason to find fault with these words were it not for the figures which follow them. For what he is really describing is how a very few men quietly walked into the prison and were locked up for the night and I shall endeavour to prove that this was the case with John Cooke as my chief witness. I must first put you in possession of certain facts. Who were the men shut up in the Black Hole prison ? They were the defenders of the fort. Then who were these defenders ? There were the military who before the Nawab attacked Calcutta numbered 180. Of these 45 were Europeans. The rest, we are told, were black Portuguese. In one list they are called topazes and Holwell's definition of a topaz is "a black Christian soldier ; usually termed subjects of Portugal." There were 50 European volunteers. There were 60 European militia and 150 militia consisting of Armenians and Portuguese. There were 35 European artillery men and 40 volunteers consisting of sea-officers and Portuguese helmsmen. The figures are those of Governor Drake who had the rolls in his possession. The Europeans consisted of British and Dutch and it is necessary for me to estimate the number of the Dutch. At first sight it seems strange to find any Dutch at all among the defenders of the fort for the Dutch authorities, before the Nawab attacked Calcutta, absolutely refused to help the English in any way and after the capture of Calcutta they

refused to supply them with food and other necessities. The mystery is cleared up by Governor Drake who says they were deserters from Dutch ships* and the word *matross* is used in connection with them which, according to Mr. Hill, means a sailor and almost all the artillery men were sailors. The number of Dutch, then, could hardly have been very great. According to Drake's list the total number of Europeans was 230. You will find the names of 194 of them in the list I gave in the *Society's Journal*. The remaining 36 were Dutch. The prisoners in the Black Hole, then, necessarily consisted of British, Dutch, Armenians and Portuguese. This is confirmed by the various accounts of the tragedy we have. One account says 200 Europeans, Portuguese and Armenians were shut up. Holwell heads his list of victims thus:—"A list of those smother'd in the Black Hole, the 20th June, 1756, exclusive of the English, Dutch, and Portuguese soldiers, whose names I am unacquainted with." Now I can return to Cooke and his evidence. Before the Nawab left the fort on the evening of the 20th and two hours before the prisoners were put in the Black Hole Cooke asserts that "the Armenians and Portuguese were at liberty, and suffered to go to their own houses." Mr. Hill endorses this and states in his Introduction, "the Portuguese and Armenians were allowed to go free and disappeared." If they disappeared, if they went to their own houses, they were not put into the Black Hole. With regard to the Dutch Cooke relates that a "Dutchman of the Artillery Company broke open the back door of the Factory, and with many others attempted to make their escape that way." Perhaps we ought not to assume that the "many others" were all Dutch but no doubt a part of them were. Holwell asserts that these men broke open the gate with the aid of friends who had deserted the night before and Mr. Hill, following other authorities, relates that on that night, "a corporal and fifty-six soldiers, chiefly Dutch, deserted to the enemy." I think the number is exaggerated but this, at least, seems clear that a party of Dutch deserted on the 19th and another party broke out of the fort on the 20th. There were only 36 to begin with so that even assuming that none left the fort with the Governor and that none were killed in the fighting, the number of Dutch who remained to go into the Black Hole was negligible. Only the British are left. On the 19th, says Cooke, a prodigious number of the garrison was killed and wounded and we may assume that a fair proportion were British. On the 20th all the attacks of the besiegers were beaten off with great loss to them, but as far as we can learn from Cooke with no loss to the defenders. If, however, you will accept provisionally my statement that most of the British were killed in the fighting, then you will be able to discern at once that very small band of men who walked quietly into the Black Hole prison in the manner so truthfully described by Mr. Secretary Cooke.

In addition to those of Holwell and Cooke we have the accounts of two other so-called survivors. One of these was Captain Mills who states that 144 men, women and children were shut up in the prison. The addition of women and children may have been careless exaggeration on the part of Mills, but I suggest that he made the

* "We could have but few Europeans and those deserters from the Dutch ships, the remainder country-born Portuguese wedded to a place of tranquillity." Drake's Narrative.

statement deliberately knowing full well that it was impossible to find such a number of men and that those were the only possible conditions under which the tragedy could have occurred.

We do not know who the fourth survivor was, but the letter he wrote came home in one of the India ships and appeared in the *London Chronicle* in June 1757. From a list appended to this letter we find that nine men who were supposed to have died in the Black Hole were killed in the fighting and we also learn that Captain Mills was not in the Black Hole at all. This, then, is what we find about the evidence of the four chief witnesses :—two of them overthrow their own stories. The remaining two contradict the two former and also contradict each other.

Now I will deal with the secondary authorities for the story. First in order come the men who took part in the defence of Calcutta or who were in Bengal at the time. Their accounts which are all very short were, with one exception, written in the month of July. Captain Grant referred to the tragedy on the 13th, Watts and Collet on the 14th, Governor Drake on the 19th and William Lindsay's letter is merely dated July. Then in November William Tooke wrote a narrative of the loss of Calcutta and mentioned the tragedy in it. All these accounts agree in one respect. They contain the true story side by side with the false and we must choose which of the two we will accept. By September, 1756, Governor Drake, Watts and Collet had made their choice and it was the Black Hole story they rejected.

In December the Madras expedition, with Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive in command, arrived in Bengal. I shall now ask you to consider what these two men had to say on the subject and I will take Admiral Watson first. On the 17th December, 1756, he wrote to the Nawab as follows :—"The King my master (whose name is revered among the monarchs of the world) sent me to these parts with a great fleet to protect the East India Company's trade, rights and privileges. The advantages resulting to the Mogul's dominions from the extensive commerce carried on by my master's subjects are too apparent to need enumerating. How great was my surprise therefore to be informed that you had marched against the said Company's factories with a large army, and forcibly expelled their servants, seized and plundered their effects, amounting to a large sum of money, and *killed great numbers of the King my master's subjects.*" There is nothing here about the Black Hole. On the 3rd January 1757, Admiral Watson declared war on the Nawab in the following terms :—"Whereas the President and Council for the affairs of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies in Bengall have represented to me, that in consequence of the many hostilities and acts of violence committed against the servants of the said Company, His Majesty's subjects, by the Subah of Bengal, Bahar and Orixia, and his officers to the great detriment of the Company, the ruin of many private people His Majesty's good subjects residing under their protection, *many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner,*" and so forth. "Many of whom have also been deprived of their lives in the most barbarous and inhuman manner." Do these words refer to the Black Hole tragedy? If so, it is strange that Admiral Watson was not more explicit. We should

not expect to find such reticence in a declaration of war. We should not expect it from Admiral Watson at any time, for he was in the habit of using terribly plain language. I will give you two examples of this. On the 27th January he wrote to the Nawab:—"Your letter of the 23rd day of this month I have this day received. It has given me the greatest pleasure, as it informs me you had written to me before, a circumstance I am glad to be assured of under your hand, as the not answering my letter would have been such an affront as I could not have put up with without incurring the displeasure of the King my master." Again on the 4th March he wrote to the Nawab in this strain:—"It is now time to speak plain, if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every Article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint; otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences: and as I have always acted the open, unreserved part in all my dealings with you, I now acquaint you that the remainder of the troops which should have been here long since...will be at Calcutta in a few days; that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and more troops: and that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall not be able to extinguish. Farewel: remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with you or with any man whatsoever."

It is the fashion to say that the Nawab was innocent in the matter of the Black Hole murders. Those who say this are merely repeating the statements of Holwell and Cooke, and this is but another instance of how they made truth serve the ends of falsehood. Those who use the argument have still to explain how the officers of the Nawab dared to disregard his known wishes with regard to the prisoners. The officers of the present Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad would not dare to act in such a manner. But assuming that the Nawab had no direct responsibility for the crime could Admiral Watson have written to him in the following manner if he had not disavowed it and punished the guilty? "I call upon the Almighty," wrote the Admiral, "whom we both worship, to bear witness against me and punish me, if I ever fail in observing to the utmost of my power every part of the treaty, concluded between yourself and the English nation, so long as you shall faithfully observe your part, which I make no doubt will be as long as you have life. *What can I add more but my wishes, that your life may be long and crowned with all manner of prosperity?*"

As a matter of fact I claim Admiral Watson as a witness on my side. He is not referring to the Black Hole tragedy at all but to the men who were killed at the time of the capture of the fort. He knew those men had been killed after the fort had been formally surrendered by its governor and put the worst construction on this. I have no doubt he learned subsequently that the slaughter had been a terrible mistake and had been stopped by the Nawab himself. If you are inclined to doubt this I will remove your doubt by showing that Mr. Pigot, Governor of Madras, used almost the same words as Admiral Watson—they are precisely similar in meaning—and plainly said he was referring to something that happened before the Nawab entered the fort. On the 14th October, 1756, he wrote to the Nawab:—"I received

the letter you was pleased to write me on the 30th June advising me that it was not your intention to remove the mercantile business of the English Company out of the subah of Bengal, and at the same time I received information that all the Company's factories in the said province with their effects, amounting to several kerows had been seized by your people, also the effects of all the merchants who resided in the said settlements amounting to a great many lacks more, and I was further informed that the greatest part of the merchants *were killed by your people in a cruel and barbarous manner beyond what can be described in writing.*" After relating how the English had enriched the province, how the Emperor had granted them certain privileges and how they had been treated by the Nawabs of Bengal he goes on "all that the Subahs, your predecessors, have done is nothing in comparison to what you have lately done. I should have been willing to have believed that the violence and cruelties exercised by your army against the English was without your knowledge but I find you commanded your army in person and *after killing and murdering our people took possession of the Fort.* The great commander of the King of England's ships has not slept in peace since this news and is come down with many ships, and I have sent a great Sardar, who will govern after me, by name Colonel Clive, with troops and land forces. Full satisfaction and restitution must be made for the losses we have sustained. You are wise: consider whether it is better to engage in a war that will never end or to do what is just and right in the sight of God: a great name is obtained by justice as well as by valour." Were all the English in India of the tribe of Chadband?

I pass now to Clive and will first give you extracts from the family papers of the Earl of Powis. I had no difficulty whatever in obtaining these. The papers have been examined twice—first by Sir John Malcolm whose life of Clive was published in 1836 and recently they were examined again by Mr. Hill. The extracts I shall give were taken from Malcolm's *Life of Clive* and Mr. Hill certifies they have been copied from the papers at Walcot. Before Clive left Madras he wrote to the Directors thus:—"From many hands you will hear of the capture of Calcutta by the Moors, and the chain of misfortune and losses which have happened to the Company in particular, and to the nation in general: every breast here seems filled with grief, horror, and resentment: indeed, it is too sad a tale to unfold, and I must beg leave to refer you to the general letters, consultations, and committees which will give you a full account of this catastrophe." Apart from any Black Hole affair is this more than Clive should have said of the loss of the Company's most flourishing settlement in India attended with the deaths of a great number of men and the infliction of great suffering and privation on the survivors? Writing to Mr. Mabbot he observes:—"Providence, who is the disposer of all events, has thought proper to inflict the greatest calamity that ever happened to the English nation in these parts; I mean the loss of Calcutta, attended with the greatest mortifications to the Company, and the most barbarous and cruel circumstances to the poor inhabitants." In a letter to Mr. Roger Drake a gentleman then high in the Court of Directors, Clive writes, "A few weeks ago I was happily seated at St. David's, pleased with the

thoughts of obtaining your confidence and esteem, by my application to the civil branch of the Company's affairs, and of improving and increasing the investment; but the fatal blow given to the Company's estate at Bengal has superseded all other considerations, and I am now at this presidency upon the point of embarking on Board His Majesty's squadron, with a very considerable body of troops, to attempt the recovery of Calcutta and to gain satisfaction from the Nawab for the losses which the Company have sustained in those parts." In a letter to his father he wrote:—"It is not possible to describe the distresses of the inhabitants of this once opulent and populous town. It must be many years before it is restored to its former grandeur. It is computed the private losses amount to upwards of two millions sterling." In an earlier letter also Clive did not think it worth while to mention the Black Hole story to his father. Mr. Hill gives us another letter written by Clive to his father in which after describing his attack on the Nawab's army early in February, 1757, he writes "This blow has obliged the Nawab to decamp and to conclude a peace very honourable and advantageous to the Company's affairs." The day before Clive had written to the Secret Committee, London:—"I have little to observe on the terms obtained from the Nabob except that they are both honourable and advantageous for the Company." A British historian declares that no sufficient apology can be found for that treaty. "Peace was desirable," he adds, "but even peace is bought too dearly when the sacrifice of national honour is the price." The explanation is very simple. The historian was thinking of the Black Hole affair, Clive was not.

I will now give a different series of utterances by Clive which are not to be found in the family papers, but among the Orme Mss. Writing to the Nawab in December, 1756 he refers to "great numbers of the Company's servants and other inhabitants inhumanly killed." However, if the Nawab would make proper satisfaction for the losses sustained by the Company he would make Clive his sincere friend and get eternal honour for himself. On the 21st January, 1757, Clive wrote to Jagat Seth and clearly referred to the Black Hole incident:—"It would be unfolding a tale too horrible to repeat if I was to relate to you the horrid cruelties and barbarities inflicted upon an unfortunate people to whom the Nabob in a great part owes the riches and grandeur of his province. No less than 120 people, *the greatest part of them gentlemen of family and distinction* being put to an ignominious death in one night and in such a manner as was quite inconsistent with the character of a man of courage or humanity, *such as I have always heard the Nabob represented to be*, and for this reason I believe it must have been done without his knowledge." After the battle of Plassey and when Siraj-ud-daula was dead Clive wrote a different version to the Emperor Alamgir Sani. Then he said. "The English, who as merchants were destitute of all implements of war, were easily defeated and Surajah Dowlat took and plundered Calcutta the 20th June 1756 and all the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were *by his orders* suffocated in one night." Comment is needless. It must be remembered, however, that the standard of honour in the 18th century was not very high where politics were concerned. Twenty years had hardly passed since

Walpole talked of 'a man and his price';
Nobody's virtue was over-nice.

Clive would have scorned to do for his own private benefit what he thought he was justified in doing for the good of the Company.

I have next to deal with the French and Dutch accounts of the capture of Calcutta. I will take the Dutch accounts first. The extracts I shall give were obtained by Mr. Hill from the archives at the Hague. On the 5th July the Dutch Council at Hugli wrote to the Supreme Council at Batavia thus :—"The whole world thought and expected that the Nawab would have knocked his head against such a strong place, but time has shown that the English defended themselves for three days only. A part of them fled in their ships down the river, and the rest, *who did not perish by the sword*, have fallen into the Nawab's hands, and are bound in irons." We know that only four men were bound in irons. Therefore, according to this account the rest perished by the sword. It may be that this account is absolutely accurate. In any case the error is a very trifling one. There were probably one or two prisoners who were not put in irons. The next account is that of the chief of the Dutch factory at Cossimbazar and is dated the 7th July, 1756. It runs thus :—"The Nawab in accordance with our letter of the 10th ultimo having left for Calcutta and arrived there on the evening of the 15th, has met with the same success as here ; for after a five days' investment he took the same, but, according to the testimony of everyone not by his tactful management or bravery, but rather owing to the ill-behaviour of the Governor Drake, who taking a good 200 picked soldiers with him left the fort, on pretext of attacking the enemy, but far from doing so, he embarked with those men, accompanied by the Commandants Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, after putting considerable treasure and all the women on board a few days before and dropped down the river *leaving to the fury of the Nawab a number of brave men, among whom, when the fort was taken, a great carnage was wrought, but soon after put a stop to by the Prince.*" On the 24th November the Dutch Council at Hugli sent a reasonable account of the Black Hole tragedy to the Supreme Council at Batavia. "The rest who were taken prisoners at Calcutta," they wrote, "have had, in the first fury, a dreadful time of it, about 160 prisoners being sent into the so-called Black Hole or Donker gat (Dark or Black Hole) in which there was not room for 40 prisoners, and there shut up. Thus they were trampled underfoot or suffocated, all but 15 or 16 who were brought out half dead next morning and being fettered were led by the Nawab in his suite in triumph to Muxadavad. In the following January the same Council, writing to the Assembly of Seventeen in Holland merely state that the Nawab treated the British who had fallen into his hands with great cruelty. How was it the Dutch Council at Hugli gave one account in July and a contradictory account in November ? I think there is a simple explanation of this. Holwell was at Hugli in August. It was there that he compiled his first list of victims. He probably stayed with the Governor and must certainly have talked about the tragedy to him and the members of his Council. The result was that the Dutch changed their story. The numbers given in the Dutch account are not correct, but they approximate very closely to the figures which Holwell gave in his first account and subsequently corrected.

The French accounts of the capture of Calcutta are greater in number than the Dutch and more varied in character. Mr. Hill gives nine of the year 1756 and one dated 1757. Five of these, including one written by the Governor of Chandernagore,

do not mention the tragedy. Another refers to the many jocular stories that were made up about the business. The first account that mentions the Black Hole incident was written on the 3rd July. The writer seems to have been under the impression that the affair lasted two days and gives some grotesque details on the authority of "an Englishman who survived this Hell." I have shown elsewhere that this Englishman was, in all probability, Captain Mills who had arrived at Chandernagore a day or two before the letter was written. No further reference was made to the tragedy until October 8th. On that date a letter from Chandernagore contained the following extraordinary account :—"They put in prison more than 120 persons, men and women, and forgot them there for seven days at the end of which time when it was opened, only 14 came out alive, the rest were dead." The prisoners, then, died of starvation. On the 16th December, 1756, the French Council at Chandernagore wrote an apparently reasonable account of the incident. They say that "the prisoners to the number of 200 having been hurriedly shut up in a warehouse were almost all suffocated in one night." But were the Council thinking of the tragedy described by Holwell or were they thinking of a fire? Mr. Hill found in the British Museum a French manuscript entitled. "Revolutions in Bengal". It seems to have been written two years after the capture of Calcutta by a Frenchman of Chandernagore and contains the following account of the Black Hole affair :—"Night was approaching and the Moors wishing to make sure of their prisoners, shut them up hurriedly in a warehouse which caught fire. There were nearly 150 suffocated." M. Law also has something similar to this. He says :—"The Moors looked with pleasure on the scene of horror which was passing in the dungeon, for them it was a tamasha. To increase their pleasure the idea suggested itself to them of placing below, outside the window, a heap of damp straw to which they set fire. The outer air drove the smoke into the dungeon but the hopes of the Moors were deceived, they could see nothing more." If the French Council were thinking of a fire then the first reasonable French account of the tragedy is dated the 7th March, 1757, and came from the Isle of France (Mauritius I think). This relates that the defenders of the fort were made prisoners and thrown into a dungeon so small that the next morning 124 were suffocated.

I have placed before you all the contemporary evidence in favour of the Black Hole story. I will now give you three good reasons for rejecting that evidence.

(1) The story of the tragedy was, for many years, unknown to the people of Bengal. In 1789, 33 years after the event was supposed to have occurred, the translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin*, not seeking to prove or disprove anything, but engaged in the task of annotating the historian he was translating, gave this evidence : "This much is certain, that this event...is not known in Bengal ; and even in Calcutta, it is ignored by every man out of the four hundred thousand that inhabit that city : at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows any thing of it ; so careless and so incurious are those people." This silence of a whole people has hitherto been dismissed in summary fashion. The people were indifferent to the tragedy says one. Their mouthpieces, the historians, says another, were partial and suppressed the story.

How can I meet these indictments of a whole nation? Will it be sufficient if I prove that when a real tragedy occurred the people were not silent and their historians recorded the event in their pages? Seven years after the capture of Calcutta another band of men of British birth became the prisoners of a Nawab of Bengal and he, maddened with defeat after defeat, wreaked his vengeance upon the helpless captives. Let the Muhammadan historian tell the story. "A few days after that, on hearing that the English had possessed themselves of the fortress of Monghyr by treason, his temper, soured by misfortunes and perfidies, broke all bounds: Incensed beyond measure at so unexpected a reverse, and mistrusting the future still more than the past, he gave orders to Sumro, the European,* to put to death all the prisoners of that nation; and that man, of a flint-like heart, without any regard to the ties which bound him to those unfortunates, who were of the same Christian religion with him, accepted the commission without horror, and without reluctance. That stony man repaired to the house, then called Hadji-ahmed's, where those ill-fated people were confined,...and without the least hesitation, or the least remorse, he ordered all those unarmed men to be killed with musket balls. It is reported, that in such a moment of distress and perturbation, those unfortunate men, without losing courage marched up to their murderers, and, with empty bottles, and stones, and brickbats, fought them to the last man, until they were all killed." We seem to recognise our countrymen in that story but do we recognise them in the howling, frenzied mob fighting with each other for water or for a place at the window and ruthlessly trampling down the weak? The translator adds a note which has a direct bearing on our subject. "The next year after that catastrophe," he writes, "and it was in 1765, I remember to have seen, both at Benares, and at Moorshoodabad, three or four commanders, who had refused the commission with indignation. One of them, an elderly stout man with a large pair of whiskers, speaking to a company where I was, expressed himself in these words: I did not refuse to do it: no: I only desired the Nawab to give them swords and bucklers and that I would fight them then: but, as to killing prisoners disarmed that I will never do. Send your scavengers for that business." This was the class of men whom Holwell, exonerating the Nawab, charged with the Black Hole murders. He declared that they revenged themselves in that manner for the number of their body who had been killed in the siege. A real tragedy, then, was talked about by the people of Bengal, and the story is recorded in the pages of their historians. They were silent about the Black Hole affair because they were ignorant of it and they were ignorant of it because there had been no tragedy. In the pages of their historians you will find the true story of the capture of Fort William.

(2) My second reason for rejecting the story is that the Bengal Council by their conduct ignored it and by their words contradicted it. The Council unanimously agreed that before the capture of the fort the enemy destroyed a great many of their officers and private men. When the Council speak of their private men I do not think they are referring to the Dutch or the Armenians or to the topazes but to their

* The translator of the *Seir Mutaqherin* states that Sumro was a German.

own covenanted servants and "young men in the Settlement" who, Drake said, "entered as volunteers in the military doing duty in every respect as common soldiers." In their next letter the Council remove all doubt on this point. They said that most of their covenanted servants that died in the year 1756 "were killed at the taking of Fort William." According to the Black Hole story 12 officers and 23 of the covenanted servants of the Company died in the Black Hole. Further, in their letter of the 17th September, 1756, the Council unanimously agreed that the fort surrendered upon promise of civil treatment of the prisoners. How could they have left the matter there if the promise had been broken? In all their acts, too, they ignored the tragedy. In July they wrote to the principal ministers of the Nawab begging them to intercede for them. In August Major Kilpatrick was anxious that the Nawab should look upon him as a friend. It has been said that the necessities of their situation forced them to conceal their true feelings. There is no excuse for the statement. It has been said that they dissociated the Nawab from the crime. We have not their authority for this. But those who use these arguments must admit that when they came to an open rupture with the Nawab they had no necessity for concealment. When they declared war on the Nawab they would not nicely discriminate between his responsibility and that of his officers. They would have stated that on the night of the 20th June the Nawab had done to death over a hundred men in the Black Hole prison. In reality their declaration of war was milder than that of Admiral Watson. "Whereas the aforesaid Sirrajud Dowla," runs the document, "not satisfied with this violent proceeding and, without assigning any reason or even proposing any demands to us the President and Council, did sometime in the said month of June 1756 march towards Calcutta and Presidency of Fort William with a large army and train of artillery, attacked the said factory, took the fort, seized and plundered the effects of the Company and of the private inhabitants to a considerable amount, *killed many of their servants both civil and military* and expelled the few who escaped" and so forth. Surely common decency and the bonds of fellowship and nationality demanded that the Council, as a Council, should somewhere, at some time, have expressed their sorrow at the miserable deaths of the victims of the Black Hole tragedy, their detestation of the crime and their resentment against the perpetrators of it. They did none of these things. Contrast their conduct seven years afterwards when they were confronted with a real tragedy. When the news of the Patna massacre reached them they met together and passed this resolution:— "After reflecting with the most unfeigned sorrow and regret on this act of *unparalleled* and barbarous cruelty, which we have now no room left to doubt has been perpetrated at Patna by the emissaries of Cossim Aly Khan on the lives of our countrymen who were prisoners in his hands; although in the ordinary and usual calamities of war it becomes the business of the Heads of a Government to avoid shewing any marks of public concern which may be attended with the bad effects of depressing the spirits of a Colony, yet as the situation of our affairs is such as to give no occasion for apprehending any ill consequences to our public operations from a contrary conduct at this time, and *the present calamity being in itself of so singular*

and heavy a nature, we think it highly proper to enter upon some public methods of manifesting to the world our concern on this occasion, as well because it is a necessary tribute to the memory of the unfortunate gentlemen who have thus fallen the victims of a horrid cruelty, as that it will serve to testify to the Natives of the country the sentiment we feel for the loss of our friends and imply our resolution of revenging their untimely fate. It is therefore agreed and ordered that a general deep mourning shall be observed in the settlement for the space of fourteen days to commence next Wednesday, the 2nd of November.

That the morning of that day shall be set apart and observed as a public fast and humiliation, and that intimation be accordingly given to the chaplains to be prepared with a sermon and forms of prayer suitable to the occasion." They then order minute guns to be fired and proceed :—

"After paying this necessary duty to the memory of our countrymen, we are further agreed and determined to use all the means in our power for taking an ample revenge on the persons who may have been concerned in this horrid execution, and with a view of deterring in future all ranks and degrees of people from ordering or executing such acts of barbarity.

Resolved therefore that a Manifesto of the action be published throughout all the country, with a proclamation promising an immediate reward of a Lack of Rupees to any person or persons who shall seize and deliver up to us Cassim Aly Khan, and that he or they further receive such other marks of favour and encouragement as may be in our power to show in return for this act of public justice.

That an immediate reward of Rs. 40,000 shall be given to any person or persons who shall apprehend the Chief named Summureau and bring him a prisoner to us."

Could the Council have called the massacre an act of unparalleled cruelty if a greater act of cruelty had been perpetrated seven years before? Would not that greater act of cruelty have recurred to their minds again and again and could they possibly have refrained from referring to it when they framed the above resolution? By this resolution alone the Black Hole story stands condemned.

(3) My third reason for rejecting the Black Hole story is the mass of evidence which proves that the men died fighting. Most of the English evidence, but not quite all, will be found in my article in the Society's Journal. The Dutch evidence I have read to you to-night. The French do not say very much on the point but it must be remembered they were enemies at the time. In addition, after the fall of Calcutta, the Nawab had forced them to pay 350,000 rupees and they blamed the English for this. In their opinion the English were cowards unworthy of the name of Europeans. But even the French were not silent and their evidence is all the more valuable. They testify to the procession of wounded men that passed by their factory on the 19th June and in their first account of the capture of the fort, written the day after the occurrence, they state that those who made no resistance were spared which implies that some did make resistance and were not spared. Governor Renault states that the English lost 200 men at the siege of Calcutta and the natural inference is that the men were lost under circumstances usually attending a siege. Another

account says that when the Nawab's troops broke into the fort they killed many of the English and still another relates that they killed all who tried to resist. Lastly we have the evidence of Persian historians. Two of these speak of the suicide of the defenders of the fort, but there is a general agreement on two points (1) men lost their lives (2) only a few became prisoners. Test the Black Hole story by this evidence. Take the evidence most favourable to the story—that of Holwell. Holwell suppresses all reference to the men who were killed at the capture of the fort but he states, in four separate letters, that 25 men were killed and 70 wounded by noon of the 20th and those were among his best men. In my article in the Society's Journal I have shown* that these men must have been one officer, perhaps one foreigner, and perhaps a carpenter, a court serjeant, a farrier, another foreigner and a fiddler.* The rest must have been Dutch, Armenians and Portuguese. Difficulties such as this are no new discovery of mine. They were noted and pointed out on the 12th July, 1756, by the Dacca Council who wrote thus to the Court of Directors :—"The accounts we have vary much and are difficult to reconcile. All agree in this that many brave men died miserably whose lives might have been saved by the smallest degree of good conduct and resolution in their leaders." The accounts vary much and are difficult to reconcile ; in fact, they cannot be reconciled and we must choose between them. We know the choice made by Richard Becher the chief of the Dacca factory. All agree in this that many brave men died. If you believe they perished in the Black Hole you must reject all this evidence. You must say with Stewart and Orme—"In this scene of confusion no resistance was made" or with Macaulay—"The fort was taken after a feeble resistance." But if you accept this evidence the Black Hole story disappears at once and brave men come to their own again for their deeds will no longer be obscured by

a lamentable tale of things

Done long ago, and ill done.

PROFESSOR E. F. OATEN :—

Investigation of disputed problems in modern history is seldom free from bias of some sort. The events of the last two hundred years are still comparatively near us ; passions stirred up by those events, or passions of which those events were the outcome, are sometimes not allayed for centuries ; and we are in regard to those events rarely free from the danger of consciously or unconsciously allowing our judgment to be swayed according as we are Whig or Tory, Radical or Conservative, Royalist or Republican, or bear any other of the various labels by which modern men have in politics been distinguished from their fellows of opposing schools of thought.

The history of British India is recent enough to provide numerous examples of this truism. Warren Hastings provides, of course, the classic example. In his case what should have been the clear river of history has been made muddy by two baleful influences, party feeling in England and race prejudice in India. For instance,

* Two of the wounded (Talbot and Pickering) died the next day. The remaining 98 must have died in the Black Hole according to Holwell.

whereas under the influence of English party prejudices Hastings' character and actions were depicted in unfairly dark colours, there has been for some time a tendency which is exhibited, to take an example, in Forrest's introduction to the Consultations of 1772-85, and which is not unnatural in Englishmen writing of a great Englishman to whitewash his actions overmuch.

It is an unfortunate fact that in the question before us, there is a tendency, or rather an eagerness, to take sides on other than historical grounds. Now I entirely fail to understand this. Rather I would say, we all ought to be prejudiced—and in one direction. For the sake of our common humanity we ought to hope that the view which Mr. Little is championing will finally triumph.

In approaching the mystery of the Black Hole I confess myself frankly prejudiced. I want to be able to disbelieve the story. I want to have a real excuse for relegating Holwell's Narrative to a museum of literary curiosities, side by side with fourteenth century Sir John Mandeville, the father of English sensation writers, as Sir George Birdwood calls him, or nineteenth century Louis de Rougemont. I want to disbelieve Holwell's Narrative for the same reason as that for which I would, if I could, wipe off from the page of history the massacres of the ancient democrats of Corcyra, or, to come down to our time, the sinking of the *Lusitania* or the murder of Edith Cavell. Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see the names of Mr. Little, Mr. Akshay Kumar Maitra, and other gentlemen, who have ere this whispered their suspicions of Holwell's Narrative, flame across the Historical Reviews of Europe and America as authors of the most remarkable and valuable discovery in the realm of British Indian historical research. For there are certain happenings of the past the mere memory of which brands and sears the sensitive places of our common human nature; history, too, places, as Germany will yet discover, certain dreadful barriers between nations and races, which only time can remove. For this reason, I should regard any one who could prove that Holwell's Narrative is a tissue of lies as one of the truest servants of our Indian land; but for the same reason I would enter a caution against the subject being too frequently dragged to light, and made a topic of newspaper controversy in a land such as modern India, unless the cogency of the aggressive argument is indubitable, or new evidence can be adduced. It is emphatically not a matter for leading articles in newspapers, or for polemic letters from politicians and professors, however distinguished.

Prejudiced though I am in favour of Mr. Little's hypothesis, I am as yet quite unable to go all the way with him. Mr. Little and his supporters must not forget that they are in the position of assailants and not of defenders; the current view of the Black Hole incident has been practically unchallenged, even from the very beginning, for a hundred and fifty years; and the orthodox historians are not likely to yield the fort except in the face of overwhelming artillery. That Mr. Little, by his skilful selection and marshalling of the evidence contained in Hill's Records and other documents of the time, has seriously weakened the conviction with which most of us hold the received story, is, I take it, indubitable. Before however he can claim to have destroyed the received story, and ask us, as he does, to execrate Messrs. Cooke, Holwell

and Co., he has to establish *indubitably* the main props of his argument, to face all possible objections, and perhaps new evidence, which, if sought for, may come to light, and get the subject at least considered and pronounced upon by trained minds in Europe and America. In other words, there remains a good deal of bombardment yet to be done. I am of opinion that Mr. Little, though he has been able to gull the garrison with a very disturbing rifle and machine-gun fire, has failed as yet to bring up those seventeen-inch howitzers which the capture of most forts to-day seems to demand. The question is: Is his theory the only possible explanation of the facts? And can he explain every new difficulty to which his theories, if true, give rise? I cannot in a short paper deal exhaustively with Mr. Little's views; I shall mention merely one or two points on which I disagree with his views, or on which I should like fuller conviction that he is right.

One of the shots which Mr. Little may, perhaps, fairly consider to be heavy ammunition, is his attempt to show that Holwell was a scoundrel. Perhaps he was; from the point of view of our 20th century morality a good many of the eighteenth century folk both in India and in England were. Mr. Little has succeeded in proving that Holwell was not above current morality of the time. It may be he has proved that he was below it. I do not, however, dwell on this point, because I consider it comparatively unimportant; the Black Hole question is not solely a question of Holwell's veracity; it is, as I shall mention presently, the question of the veracity of a considerable number of people. But I must enter a protest against any attempt to discredit Holwell on the ground that he did not know Sanscrit in the middle of the eighteenth century. How was Holwell to know that a mixture of colloquial Bengali and Hindustani was not the ancient language of India? Cleverer men than Holwell have been deceived by wily pundits not averse to fooling the inquisitive sahib and making a little money thereby.

However, suppose we admit that Holwell was not the bright unsullied character of certain history books. We reach the position that Holwell, given sufficient motive, was ready to deceive and even forge. What sufficient motive has Mr. Little provided to bind together Holwell and his twenty-two or twenty-three companion-survivors in a conspiracy of silence, nay, more, in a conspiracy of misrepresentation? First, what did Holwell get out of it? Which is the noble figure, Holwell inspiring the garrison to a resistance so desperate that only twenty-three prisoners were taken, or Holwell escaping death in the Black Hole by an admitted fight for the window with his gasping and often weaker fellow men, Holwell clinging to the bars while a woman lay gasping (presumably) in the interior of the prison? What possible motive could have bound together Messrs. Cooke and Lushington, Captains Mills and Dickson, Holwell, Court, and Burdet, and fourteen seamen and soldiers in backing up so fearful a story? It is one of the weaknesses of Mr. Little's attack that he omits to provide any *adequate* motive to explain why so many men should have joined in concocting and backing a story so singularly unheroic. For by the nature of things in the Black Hole the survivors were those who most successfully fought and trod their fellow creatures to death. Judged by our standards of to-day (though we should

be on our guard against such judgment) to have survived the Black Hole was rather disgrace than glory. I have never been able to see Holwell in the Black Hole as a hero ; one might as well consider as heroes those struggling wretches, victims of a wreck, who clasp their fellow victims in the water in one last sub-conscious attempt to seize something solid, till they sink together in the embrace of death.

Suppose, however, Mr. Little provides us with a motive powerful enough to cause all the survivors of the attack upon the Calcutta Fort to spread the story of the Black Hole, though they never suffered it. This implies at least that Holwell and the leading survivors agreed to concoct a tale. If that is so, why did their accounts differ ? If the various accounts were various impressions of a real event, it would be perfectly natural that they should differ ; but why could not the concocters agree as to the kind of story which they should spread abroad ? Why did Holwell in his first official letter of July 17th put 170 people in the Black Hole, and only allow 16 to escape ? Why did Mills put 144 in, and save twenty-four of them ? Why did Secretary Cooke's notes, from which he gave his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, in 1772, put "near 150 souls" in, and rescue only 22 ? Why did Holwell tell Sykes at Cossimbazar, on the 8th July, as he passed as a prisoner on his way to Murshidabad, that 160 went into the Hole, and 110 came out dead. "And that all night the Nabob's people kept firing at them through the door." (I would enter a "caveat," however, against much reliance of any kind upon this report by Sykes of Holwell's statements, since Sykes says that "the 20th and 21st they fought all day and night." Holwell could not have written or said this.)

Why did Holwell eventually reduce his numbers on August 3rd to 146 in the Hole, and 123 dead ? Does it not seem possible that the first accounts were the excited and inaccurate impressions of men who had passed through a fearful experience, and that Holwell, as he became calmer and thought and talked about the matter, had somewhat to alter his numbers and statements ? I cannot but feel that the differing accounts given of the tragedy are some testimony to its truth. Had the narratives agreed in unessential details, there would then have been strong ground for suspicion. There are, I know, other suggested explanations, less favourable to the alleged victims ; but if they are true, the new difficulty is raised that the most gigantic and successful hoax in history was successfully perpetrated by the most arrant set of clumsy bunglers imaginable. In any case, an exhaustive and close hypothetical narration of the genesis and growth of the legend, which creates no new difficulties, is a desideratum.

The most important part of Mr. Little's argument is his attempt to prove that the English in the Fort made such a desperate final resistance on the 20th June that there were not enough survivors left to make up Holwell's Black Hole numbers.

In proof of this final desperate resistance, he quotes :—

1. Ghulam Husain Khan, a gossipy writer who certainly cannot be relied upon in any matter of doubt. He wrote 25 years later.
2. Captain Grant, who deserted on the 19th June, and was not in the Fort during the last resistance. If he may be quoted as an authority for this, he may

also be quoted as an authority for the Black Hole, which (13th July) he also describes.

3. Mr. Grey, Junior. He was in the Fort on the last day, till it was taken, and then escaped by the river. He is the latest of the witnesses except Holwell. We learn from him that, on the 20th, several men including one officer, Captain Smith, was killed, and several officers were wounded. He tells us nothing of a desperate final resistance: on the contrary, when the officers were out of sight, the men "skulked and would not go up." "About four o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy called out to us not to fire, in consequence of which the Governor shewed a flag of truce, and gave orders for us not to fire." "At the time the fort was taken, there was not above the number of twenty men upon the walls. The greatest part of the soldiers were drunk." I find no evidence here of a desperate final resistance, in which most of the officers and writers fell. We may notice in passing that Grey also accepts the Black Hole story.

4. Holwell, who admits 25 killed, and 70 wounded, "of the best men." This leaves an insoluble difficulty if we regard "best men" as meaning officers and writers; but surely it means what it says, *men*. We get over the patent difficulty that no officers were killed besides Smith when we remember Cooke's evidence before Parliament, that twelve wounded officers went into the Black Hole. And if the *London Chronicle* letter be adduced to prove that some of the alleged victims like Blagg and Baillic perished fighting, the defender of the orthodox view will reply:—

(a) In a scene of such horror as the fall of the fort memory plays strange tricks. And how was the writer, who was presumably doing his duty fighting, to know whether a writer or an officer whom he saw fall, was killed or only wounded?

(b) Who is to be believed, Holwell, and Cooke giving evidence before Parliament, or an anonymous newspaper correspondent? And if you accept that part of the evidence of the anonymous newspaper correspondent, which suits you, can you reject that part which you don't like, namely his testimony that "170 of us were crammed into a hole," and only 16 were alive next morning?

5. Drake, and William Lindsay, both of whom left the Fort on the 19th June.

6. William Tooke, who fled with the Governor on the 19th.

Thus, of Mr. Little's witnesses to the alleged last desperate defence, only three stayed till the taking of the fort. Of these, one declares that the soldiers were drunk, and that only twenty were on the walls at the last rush; another is anonymous; and the third is Holwell, Mr. Little being in the unfortunate position of having to make him his best witness. All these testify to the Black Hole story, and two say they were actually in the Black Hole.

I am forced reluctantly to the conclusion that the attractive *argumentum ad hominem*, the picture so attractive to Englishmen, of Englishmen resisting to the death and dying gloriously on the bastions as English officers know how to die so gloriously, that there were not enough left to fill the Black Hole, needs more convincing testi-

mony, if it is to be one of the main props of Mr. Little's theory. I am far from saying it is false; I have a leaning towards faith in it; but it is so important a part of the foundations of his theory, that the fact must be placed beyond a doubt.

There are numerous other points I should like to take up in Mr. Little's argument. But I must restrict myself to one or two.

Mr. Little's view is that a month or two after the Fort was captured it was generally recognised by the Council and most thinking men that Holwell was the biggest liar in existence; but that for the credit of the Company, and because the tale of the Black Hole might have its uses, people, including the other members of the Council, tacitly agreed not to show him up, though they refrained from giving the story confirmation by an official account to the Directors. The absence of an official account is curious: but surely the sending home of five separate accounts of the fall of the Fort partly explains it; Holwell, being the only member of the Council of Fulta, who was in the Black Hole, would naturally be the only one to spend any time on the subject. The members of the Council at Fulta were too busy attacking one another on far more important topics. Why should we assume that their inability to agree upon the Black Hole question was the reason why they were unable to send home a joint report? The fact that the four of the members of Council who do not mention the story also sent home separate accounts, shows that the Councillors' points of difference involved quite other questions than the precise way in which Baillie and other Company's servants died. At the same time, I do not wish unduly to minimise the significance of the absence of an official *account*. And yet it is worth while asking whether the following extract from the letter of the Council, Fort William, to the Court of Directors, dated 31st January 1757, does not constitute at least official *recognition* of the story within seven months of the event: "Our chaplains having both demised, *Mr. Gervas Bellamy in the Black Hole.....* we have appointed the Reverend Mr. Cobbe our chaplain etc." This casual reference, which certainly is official testimony to the story, was made in a letter signed by Drake, Kilpatrick, Becher, Pearkes, Frankland, and Macket. Holwell was not a signatory, so that the Council's recognition of the story was not due to him.

In any case, Mr. Little is not, in my opinion, entitled so easily to dismiss the testimony of Clive and Pigott. His view is that at the time it was recognised by the leading Englishmen of the day that Holwell was a liar, and that Black Hole story was a myth. He is not entitled to disregard the following words, written by Clive to the Mogul Emperor: "Surajah Dowlat took and plundered Calcutta the 20th June, and all the great men and other Englishmen that fell into his hands were by his orders suffocated in one night." (30 July, 1757). Pigott too, on the 14th October, 1756, wrote to Suraja Dowlah, thus: "I was further informed that the greatest part of the merchants were killed by your people in a cruel and barbarous manner beyond what can be described in writing." It is true, as Mr. Little says, that these letters were written to Indians for a political purpose, but one of them was the greatest of all Indians. I am not yet convinced that the great men of Bengal knew at the time that the Black Hole story was an invention of Holwell. If it had

been general knowledge in high places, I believe that Orme the historian, would have learnt enough of the truth to make him minimise the story in his *History*, or exclude it altogether. I do not believe, in short, that a secret, known on Mr. Little's hypothesis to so many, could possibly have remained a secret for ever, especially in fierce years of party controversy that followed.

We may admit, and gladly admit, that Holwell, through ignorance or forgetfulness of the concluding features of the struggle, placed some people, like Blagg, in the Black Hole, who died honourably outside it. Reduction of the number to nine, of whom three died of their wounds, is an attractive theory, but surely as yet scarcely a matter for historical assertion.

If Mr. Little is right, we are face to face with a stupid and enormous hoax. It is extremely difficult to believe that if Mr. Little's assertions are correct, no hint exists in the periodical literature of the last hundred years, except the "*Calcutta Review*" (reference to the "said catastrophe of the so-called Black Hole." (1856). If Mr. Little can discover more such sceptical references in journals, say between 1757 and 1800, in India or England, he would remove one of the greatest difficulties in the way of accepting his position. Otherwise, one cannot but be reminded of the Americanism: "You can fool some of the people all the time, and all of the people some of the time; but you can't fool all the people all the time."

Thus it remains for Mr. Little to—

1. Suggest a motive adequate to causing twenty people or more to bolster up a fearful tale of suffering, and three or four men of outward respectability to give written testimony to it.
2. Prove that Mills and Cooke were active liars and scoundrels, and Lushington, Court, Burdet, and the rest of them were at least passive ones. It is scarcely enough to prove only that Holwell was dishonest.
3. Prove incontrovertibly his theory of the fierceness of the final struggle, especially the numerous killings of officers and writers at the final rush.
4. Search for evidence, which may possibly exist, to show that people were sceptical, in India or in England, say between 1760 and 1800. Surely, if the twenty-three survivors, and all the leading men of Bengal knew the story was a fraud, some reference to the fact must have crept into newspapers or reviews before 1856.

I by no means assert that all these four tasks are beyond Mr. Little's powers. I merely throw out the suggestions as lines along which further pressure may usefully be applied when he has leisure. Some of us who, dreading the unknown, hesitate to abandon the old familiar landmarks, feel that, detest and hate the orthodox story as we may, we cannot throw aside history which has stood for a hundred and fifty years unchallenged, unless certain points of difficulty which remain are fully cleared up. In other words a good deal of work yet remains to be done. We all ought to hope that it will be successfully accomplished.

THE HON'BLE MR. E. J. MONAHAN:—

Observed that one or two of Professor Oaten's observations seemed to him rather like begging the question. Professor Oaten spoke of the account of the Black Hole

being the orthodox view and accepted history. That was not a position which could be safely taken up in a discussion of this kind. The burden of proof in this matter did not lie on one side more than on the other. Anyone who wished the story of the Black Hole to be believed must produce the evidence or refer to the evidence in favour of it. The speaker was not prepared to go into the evidence in detail. Not very long ago he went through the records which were published by Professor Hill and compared them with considerable care, and he supposed there was room for two opinions on the subject, but, personally he was entirely unable to understand how anyone could find in those records satisfactory evidence of the truth of the Black Hole story, or satisfactory evidence that the incident of the Black Hole as described by Holwell or any incident similar in kind and dimensions ever took place. They had official documents in which they would expect to find the incident referred to if it had really happened, and to him it seemed almost incredible that there should have been no record of it in those documents if it was a real occurrence. Then they had discrepancies and improbabilities in the different accounts, and the various explanations that had been put forward to account for them, seemed to him entirely inadequate and unconvincing.

At the same time the man who tried to prove that the Black Hole incident did not occur was met by certain difficulties. Mr. Little had put forward a theory to account for Holwell's motive in inventing the story to the effect that it was a story which accounted for the deaths of a number of people who really lost their lives in the defence of Calcutta. But then they had to ask themselves why Clive accepted the story. His theory was that as Holwell had a private motive, Clive had a political and patriotic motive for making public opinion hostile to the Nawab. Hence Clive's acquiescence in Holwell's story. He (the speaker) would say that while the "orthodox" historians' view rested on extremely weak evidence, it had not been conclusively proved that the story was false.

MR. AKSHAYA KUMAR MAITRA, B.L.:—

I.
Foreword :
Orthodox
Tradition.

Few had access to the vast literature which should have been carefully scrutinised to come to an independent judgment on the genuineness of this unheard-of story ; but few felt the necessity of taking so great a trouble ; because the tradition recorded by Robert Orme—a contemporary—was ready at hand.

Thus, the story has been handed down to posterity as an undisputed episode of History, which can no longer be questioned without stirring up popular sentiment against critical inquisitiveness.

This was noticed twenty years ago, when I ventured to publish my doubts.

The
Modern View.

The times have now changed rapidly to make it possible for Mr. J. H. Little to utilise more abundant materials with conspicuous ability, and to announce with calm confidence in the Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society, (Vol. XI, Part I, Serial No. 21) that the story of the Black Hole was a "gigantic hoax."

Yet, even now, a keen controversy regarding the propriety of this verdict has been roused in more quarters than one ; and Mr. Little has come to be belittled with a taunt that he has managed "to play off a clever and audacious practical joke."

This justifies the reopening of the question.

The
New School
of Historians.

I must confess, at the outset, that I find it more reasonable to adopt the critical methods of investigation recommended by "the historians of the modern school in Europe," than to follow the time-honoured practice of swallowing all extravagant stories without any sort of investigation. I cannot, therefore, look upon them as "a generation of iconoclasts," as represented by *The Pioneer*, for the simple reason that a mere iconoclast exults only in his work of wanton destruction, while "the historians of the modern school in Europe" have shown by example that if they are obliged to destroy any old fetish of faith, they destroy it only to replace fiction by truth.

The
Critical Method.

Their critical method, when it lights upon an interesting statement, "begins by suspecting it" (Lord Acton's *The Study of History*, p. 40); because the maxim that "a man must be presumed to be innocent until his guilt is proved" was not made for the historian. The main thing for him "is not the art of accumulating material, but the sublimer art of investigating it,—of discerning truth from falsehood." This art, according to Harisse (*The Discovery of America*, VI.), consists "in determining with documentary proofs and by minute investigations duly set forth—the literal, precise, and positive inferences to be drawn at the present day from every authentic statement without regard to commonly received notions, to sweeping generalities, or to possible consequences." J. S. Mill (*Inaugural Address*, p. 34) rightly pointed out that "there is no part of our knowledge, which is more useful to obtain at first hand,—to go to the fountain-head for,—than our knowledge of History." The modern critical method goes a step further, and wants to test all first-hand informations without regard to commonly-received opinions about them, because it looks upon "consistency in regard to opinions as the slow poison of intellectual life." Every authentic statement is not necessarily true. This may be best illustrated by many authentic statements of Col. Clive, in one of which, in a letter to Alangir Sani, King of Hindostan, dated the 30th July, 1757 (Hill, II. 462,) he asserted that after the battle of Plassey, Sirajuddowla retreated to the city of Murshidabad, "nor stopt there, but continued his flight, and was killed by his servants who followed him to demand their pay." This statement, though authentic, suppressed the real truth and suggested a deliberate falsehood. Instances need not be multiplied to shew that no story of this notorious period should be accepted without a critical investigation. The story of the Black Hole cannot, therefore, be treated as an exception. We should not only go to the fountain-head of this story, but we should also carefully investigate it according to the well-established rules of modern critical method, which is a method of Science. There can be no investigation in any other way to ensure accuracy in our knowledge of History. In this the modern method differs from the old;—the critical from the uncritical;—the historical from the romantic.

II
Suspicious Cir-
cumstances :
Mahomedan
Histories.

My suspicions were roused by the significant fact that no Mahomedan Historian of the Eighteenth Century made any mention of the Black Hole story, or of any catastrophe, which could be reasonably identified with it. Mr. Little has also noticed this only to ask his readers "to note the fact." But it requires some elaboration to enable one to appreciate the full significance of this omission.

One of these historians, and the most important one, was Nawab Golam Hosain Khan, the author of the celebrated *Syer-ul-Mutakherin*. He was a relation and

adherent of Showkatjung, who disputed the succession of Siraj-Uddowla. After the overthrow and death of his patron, this historian lived in banishment at Benares, until he was restored to his *jageer* after the battle of Plassey. He completed his work in 1783, when the fall of Calcutta would not have still continued to be regarded as the only or the chief matter of interest, and the story of the Black Hole a mere subsidiary one, as has been ingenuously suggested by *The Pioneer* to account for the non-mention of the catastrophe in the public records of the day.

Another historian, Golam Hosain Salim of Malda, the author of the *Riaz-us-Salateen*, completed his work in 1787-88, under the orders and patronage of his kind and benevolent master, George Udney, who was well-known for his piety and scrupulous regard for historical accuracy.

These two Mahomedan historians received just recognition from all celebrated English writers of the Modern History of India. Neither of them had any motive to conceal the truth ; yet neither had a word about the Black Hole.

Haji Mustapha's
Observations.

A renegade Frenchman, named Haji Mustapha, translated the *Syer-ul-Mutakherin* into English. He noticed this significant omission, and recorded his own views about the incident in a note, which included the following observation :—

"This much is certain that this event, which cuts so capital a figure in Mr. Watts' performance, is not known in Bengal ; and even in Calcutta it is ignored by every man out of the four hundred thousand that inhabit that city ; at least it is difficult to meet a single native that knows anything of it ; so careless and incurious are those people."

Mr. Hill supposed this "to be a sarcastic hint that the translator himself did not believe this story." Be that as it may, this observation reveals a fact and an explanation ;—the fact relates to the want of knowledge of the people even of Calcutta ;—the explanation relates to an estimate of their character. The explanation is, however, untenable ; because Holwell's monument, built in 1760, was then in existence to refresh the memory of the people ; and also because the Mahomedan histories make it abundantly clear that the "natives" were not altogether "careless" or "incurious" about other matters of public notoriety during that period of change of Government, when gossip about every little event naturally ran in every direction with incredible rapidity. If the story of the Black Hole was really true, it could not have failed to reach their ears ; nor could it have been kept a profound secret by the people of the Nawab.

Mr. Hill's
Explanation.

Mr. Hill, while writing the Introduction to his book on Bengal in 1756-57, did not notice or discuss this significant omission, so prominently noted by Haji Mustapha. He has, however, now noticed it (*The Englishman*, Town Edition, 16 February, 1916) with an observation,—that knowing by his "own experience how very insouciant are the bulk of the people of India to whatever concerns only those of other castes and creeds, it did not produce sufficient impression" upon his mind for him "to think it worth while to discuss the question."

Prof. William's
Contention.

But Mr. Rushbrook Williams, Professor of Modern History in the Allahabad University, has not taken the same view. He has tacitly conceded that this omission carries some weight. So he has made an honest effort to enquire if some faint

reference,—even a figurative one,—cannot after all be discovered in some obscure Mahomedan History. For this purpose he contended for a while that a veiled reference might be discovered in the *Muzarffarnamah*. Maulavi Abdul Wali of Murshidabad, whose knowledge of Persian cannot be inferior to that of the learned Professor, quoted the text (*The Statesman*, Dawk Edition, 23rd. February, 1916) from the manuscript belonging to the Nizamut Library, and annexed the following translation :—

“ Having seen that they are incapable to resist, and being in despair of concluding peace, the English gentlemen seated themselves on board ship and left for the sea ; and a few of the English soldiers who saw the road of escape closed on them killed themselves out of excess of the sense of honour and a few persons became prisoners of the claws of predestination.”

Mr. Abdul Wali's
Interpretation.

Moulavi Abdul Wali has rightly pointed out that “ this passage,—which is the only passage on the subject,—does not prove that the English were put into the Black Hole. The sentence that a few persons became also prisoners of the claws of predestination is a figurative one, and proves nothing.” Those who are acquainted with the oriental methods of polished composition, will readily admit that the figurative expression cannot indicate imprisonment ; the context shows that while a few committed suicide, a few were also killed during the capture of the fort ; a fact admitted also in the English reports.

After this analysis of the text, it must be idle to contend that the story was referred to by a figurative description by at least one Mahomedan historian,—or to contest the fact so definitely and confidently recorded by Haji Mustapha about the complete ignorance of the people even of Calcutta,—or to question his authority for such an unqualified acknowledgment.

Mr. Hill's
Attitude.

This then is the first important fact which should not have been at first ignored and at last dismissed by Mr. Hill as unworthy of consideration, upon a plea of personal experience, which is as exceptional as it is inapplicable to the bulk of the people of India. In writing the Introduction to his book, Mr. Hill could not have really missed the undeniable proofs which clearly disclosed that the people of this country, even at the risk of their lives, had actually felt compassion for the English fugitives, and supplied them with necessary provisions, “ by stealth in the night ” (Hill, I, 171), in spite of the strictest prohibition of the Nawab.

Omission in
Public Records.

Turning to the important public records of the day, we find the same significant omission. If considerations of unavoidable diplomacy demanded a studied silence on the point in the earlier correspondence with the Nawab, because the English were then very naturally anxious to re-establish their trade at any sacrifice, the same explanation could not be put forward in support of a studied silence in the Minutes and Consultations of the English Council ; or in the first report submitted to the Court of Directors. Even in respect of the correspondence with the Nawab, this explanation would be inapplicable to the last letter at any rate which Colonel Clive addressed, complaining only of “ the loss of many crores of Rupees ” said to have been sustained by the English “ in the capture of Calcutta.” In the two treaties,—one with Siraj-ud-dowla (9 February, 1757), and another with Mir Jaffier Khan (3 June, 1757),—

no satisfaction was obtained for the atrocities of the Black Hole. Thornton (*History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. I, 212-13) observed that the absence of any provision for this purpose was "the greatest scandal attached to the treaty." Mr. Hill has not quoted or questioned this unbiassed verdict of a truly "eminent historian." He has only quoted the Third Article of the Treaty, without seeing eye to eye with Thornton, that that Article can in no way be spun out to cover, as Mr. Hill contends, "compensations for every thing." It related only to compensations for clearly specified losses of property; and did not and could not include a compensation for loss of life in general, or in the Black Hole. In the same strain Mr. Hill now adds that,—“it is quite certain that a large number of the British were killed after Drake deserted his post. If they perished in the Black Hole, then Holwell's story is substantially true, though it may be incorrect in details.” It is needless to point out that no verdict of History can be based upon this “if.” Even if it were possible, it would not banish the need for proof; for, “the living do not give up their secret,” as Lord Acton pointed out, “with the candour of the dead; one key is always excepted; and a generation passes before we can ensure accuracy.”

**First Official
Report.**

In the first official report of the fall of Calcutta (dated Fulta the 17th. September 1756) submitted to the Court of Directors, nearly three months after the event, there was no mention of the massacre; although it was signed amongst others, by Holwell himself. This document narrated on the other hand that the fort had surrendered “upon the promise of civil treatment of the prisoners” (Hill, I, 214-19) without saying that the promise was ultimately broken.

**Mr. Hill's self-
contradiction.**

Mr. Hill's present contention (although he did not put it forward in his Introduction) is that it was not mentioned, because “no two members of the Council held the same opinion.” This was really so, (Letter from Fort William to the Court of Directors, 31st January, 1757). Mr. Hill has not, however, shown how in the face of such an undeniable fact, he can justify his present self-contradictory observation that the story received “general acceptance,—unquestioned by any of the Europeans present in Calcutta at the time.”

**Consistency of
First Report.**

The first official report was consistent with several well-established facts;—(i) that many of the besieged fled when the fort surrendered (Hill, I, 43); nay they simply walked out without opposition; (ii) that a Mahomedan Jemadar of the Nawab's army escorted unmolested several English ladies, and restored them to their husbands at Fulta that very night (*Mutakherin*, Vol. II, 190); (iii) that all who had ventured to approach the Nawab in person were pardoned (Hill, I, 108-9) and allowed to go away; and (iv) that when Holwell was brought before the Nawab “with his hands bound, the Nawab released him from his bonds” and promised him (Hill, II, p. 151), “on the word of a soldier” that no harm should be done to him,—which he is said to have “repeated more than once.”

**The Causes of
Imprisonment.**

Why was any one imprisoned at all? We are indebted to Holwell for the suggestion that it was due to his inability to disclose the hidden treasure of the garrison, which the Nawab was naturally anxious to secure. This makes it difficult to discover a motive for the imprisonment of 146 persons,—men, women and children,—all of whom could never have been treated as privy to the secret.

Why were then so many persons imprisoned? Holwell assigned no reason to it in his first statement, (reported by Sykes of Cossimbazar) on the 8th July, 1756. In his second statement, (said to have been forwarded from Muxudabad to the Councils of Bombay and Madras) on the 17th July, 1756 (Hill, I, 115), he hazarded an opinion, not a fact, that—"the resistance made by the English and the loss suffered by the besiegers so irritated the Nawab that he ordered the imprisonment of all."

This was, however, quickly given up in his third statement, (sent from Hugli to the Council of Madras) on 3rd August, 1756 (Hill, I, 186), in which he suggested another reason, *viz.*,—that the number of the English in the fort was "too great to be at large";—a reason which ill-fitted the fact that permission and facilities had already been granted to many to leave the fort, after which the Nawab could not have been really anxious to detain any but those who could be reasonably supposed to know anything about the hidden treasure. It could not also have been probable for a really large number of men, women, and children, to have actually lingered in the fort, after many had died in defending it, and some had managed to escape during the confusion which followed the surrender. This reason was accordingly abandoned by the historians, who found it more consistent to adopt a different plea, *viz.*,—that "some of the drunken soldiers had drawn the misfortune upon all by attacking the soldiers of the Nawab." This explanation was originally put forward by Governor Drake (Hill, I, 160) either from hearsay or from his own imagination of which he has been proved to have had an ample fund. As he was not an eye-witness, he could not have spoken from personal knowledge.

Holwell's
Fairness.

This plea, however, received no support from Holwell, who was an eye-witness. He, on the other hand, recorded in his letter of 3rd August, 1756 that,—“I charged the Nawab with designedly having ordered the unheard-of piece of cruelty of cramming us all into that small prison; but I have now reason to think I did him injustice.”

This significant admission may justly give rise to an interesting and instructive inquiry into its motive, which Mr. Hill has not tried to pursue. When Holwell deliberately charged the Nawab, the English had by that time lost all hopes of returning to Bengal; as soon as the first ray of hope began to dawn upon them, on account of their submitting a petition on 6th July, 1756 to the Nawab to be restored to Calcutta, the charge was as deliberately withdrawn on the 3rd August;—but when Siraj-ud-dowla was no more, the revolution was over, and the country had quieted down to enable Holwell to build his monument, he inscribed with equal deliberateness on his obelisk that 123 persons had been suffocated to death in the Black Hole prison of Fort William.

“By
The Tyrannic Violence
of
Surajud-Dowla
Suba of Bengal.”

This is the man whose testimony is our chief guide in discerning truth from falsehood.

"He was known," says Prof. Rushbrook Williams as "a clever rascal even in his own day." He was "clever" indeed in never asking the English Council, not even when he acted as Governor, to commemorate the catastrophe, which would have necessarily called for a critical investigation of his extravagant story. He, on the other hand, built a monument at his own cost, and "cleverly" attached two inscriptions to it,—one for the tragedy and another for the "revenge" taken by Clive and Watson, evidently to ensure the preservation of his monument, at least as a trophy of victory. An Englishman, a ship's doctor, however, found it in 1817 in a deplorable condition, (Mss. of a Voyage in the private collection of S. O'Mally Esqr. I.C.S.)—"no railing, nor shrubs,"—"totally unworthy of the universal interest excited by that most hideous event"; nor did it seem to have "arrested the attention of natives, none of whom could point out the Black Hole close to it." That monument was unhesitatingly demolished in 1821 to make room for the Customs House. The new monument, built in 1902, by a noble donor, has omitted the "revenge," excluded the reference to "the tyrannic violence of Sirajuddowla," revised the list of victims, and included some names which are names of those (Hill, Introduction, p. xcix, note 4) Mr. Hill has given "as being killed during the fighting." This monument, in the language of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, may, therefore, be justly liable to be looked upon as "a big thumb of stone, raised in the midst of a public thoroughfare to proclaim to the heavens that exaggeration is not the monopoly of any particular race or nation."

Unavoidable
Presumption.

These circumstances naturally raise some presumption against the genuineness of the story; and that presumption gradually gains in strength when we find, as Mr. Little has shown in detail, that the presence of so many persons in the fort at that late hour would be a matter of great improbability.

III.
Development
of the story :
Admissibility of
Evidence.

Before we turn to that important question, we must decide another,—the question of the admissibility of evidence. Should we admit, as required by a correspondent of *The Statesman* (Dawk Edition, 15th February, 1916), half in jest and half in earnest, *The Confessions* of De Quincey, in which the ill-ventilated coaches of England in the early days of the nineteenth century were compared to "Governor Holwell's Black cage at Calcutta." in support of Holwell's story? Sober sense will readily concede that all sayings and doings of third persons, after the story had gained a fair currency, must stand on the same footing, whether they related to Lord Clive's endorsement of the petitions of those who said that they had lost their relatives in the Black Hole; or to the writings of the French and the Dutch, who derived no knowledge except through Holwell and his party. The story must stand or fall with the statements of the aggrieved party,—the alleged survivors of the grim tragedy of the Black Hole; for, they and the Nawab's people, and no one else, could supply us with real proof.

Mr. Hill has referred to a book, *Memoire Sur l'Empire Mogol*, written in French by a Scoto-Frenchman named Jean Law of Lauriston, to show that the writer, who was an independent spectator in Bengal, "accepted the story of Holwell." This book, written under the orders of the French Ministry, partly in Paris in 1763, and partly on a second voyage to India in 1764, was published by Alfred Mârtineau

in 1913. I am indebted to my learned friend, Prof. R. C. Majumdar M. A., for an extract of the Preface, which shows that the author was an old Chief of the French Factory of Cossimbazar, who was well-known to the Durbar of the Nawab. In his Memoir (Hill, III, 160) he distinctly noted that he could not be "certain as to the correctness" of all he had heard; he preferred, therefore, "to refer" us "to what the English themselves have written." Mr. Hill should have found that a reference to the story of Holwell by this writer could not be accepted as an "acceptance."

Modern Research.

Modern research has discovered, with commendable diligence, many useful materials, which tend to show that a story of the Black Hole was actually in circulation among the European residents of Bengal from a certain date, before it was transmitted to Europe;—but it does not fail at the same time to reveal that that story was the result of a gradual development.

The letter of 3rd July from Chandernagor (Hill, I, 50), Syke's letter of the 8th July (Hill, I, 61) and William Lindsay's letter (Hill, I, 168) relied on by Mr. Hill as tests of Holwell's story, cannot be treated as real tests; because these letters are not the letters of eye-witnesses. They can, however, be referred to to show, why, inspite of them, Holwell's story fails to carry conviction; because these letters prove a gradual development of the story, and supply us with many useful materials to discover how the story stood at each stage of such development.

True Concern.

This did probably induce Prof. Rushbrook Williams to contend that "our true concern is not with Holwell," and that the Black Hole incident does not stand or fall with the truth or falsehood of Holwell's story. An analysis of the first accounts in circulation in Bengal will, however, show at a glance that we cannot have the story of the Black Hole without Holwell, as we cannot have *Hamlet*, without the Prince of Denmark. Holwell cannot altogether be dismissed for the simple reason that the story of the imprisonment of the 146 persons and of the death of 123, which constitute "the main features of the tragedy" was the story of no one else but of Holwell; and even with him it was not the first story, narrated by him as soon as he got the earliest opportunity to do so. Our true concern must, therefore, be with Holwell and his principal associates, not with those, who reported from hearsay only; nor with those who accepted the story without any critical investigation.

Frist Uncertainty.

The first story of the fall of Calcutta, that could be gathered by the French or the Dutch from really independent sources, including the wounded, who passed by their settlements, did not disclose an episode of the Black Hole (Hill, I, 22-24).

The news of the fall of Calcutta was speedily carried far and wide. But (i) the letter written by the Council of Fort William from Fulta on the 25th June 1756 (Hill, I, 25) asking for aid and succour from the Dutch in the distress of the English, (ii) the Consultations of the Dutch at Hugli from 25th to 27th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 25), (iii) the letter from the Dutch Council to their agent written on 27th June 1756 (Hill, I, 33), (iv) the Dacca Consultations of 27th and 28th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 34 and 36) showing that the news of the fall of Calcutta had already been received through the French at that distant station, and (v) the secret Consulta-

tions of the Dutch at Hugli on 28th June, 1756 (Hill, I, 37),—do not disclose an account or even a mention of the Black Hole story.

Although the Dutch were at first afraid to succour the English, the French speedily accomodated matters with the Nawab, and readily offered a shelter to the English at Chandernagur. To this asylum arrived Watts and Colett, after their release, “in palanquins in the evening of the 28th June, 1766” (Hill, I.). After a well-earned rest at this place for three days, Watts and Colett wrote to the Council at Madras on 2nd July, 1756, giving an account of the fall of Cossimbazar and of Calcutta, as well of their imprisonment and release (Hill, I, 45). But this letter contained no reference to the Black Hole, or to any catastrophe, which could be placed in it. Although they were prisoners in the Nawab’s camp before their release, they did not carry with them any information even from that source.

Holwel First
Story.

According to Holwell (*India Tracts*, Third Edition, pp. 387-418) he was sent to Murshidabad along with Court, Walcot and Burdett. On his way, as a prisoner of war, he sent a letter which was reported by Sykes of Cossimbazar on 8th of July, 1756 (Hill, I, 61-62).

This was the first story of Holwell;—a story which was begun with a confusion of dates obviously to assert that the fort had held out till 21st June. It did not disclose that the fort had really surrendered on “a promise of civil treatment of the prisoners”; it recorded another story,—the story of a dishonourable “surrender at discretion.” What was worse, it made out a case of wilful murder with an allegation that,—“all the night our poor gentlemen were in the Black Hole, the Nawab’s people kept firing at them through the door.”

Evident Concoction.

Strangely enough, an account recorded by Captain Grey, on the 13th July 1756 (Hill, I, 73) at Fulta, discloses that the story of firing had also been carried to that station by some, although it was contradicted by others.

This shows, beyond doubt, that as the fact of firing could not have been independently imagined by more than one person, it must have been concocted in consultation to be circulated in different directions by different associates to make out a case of wilful murder, which came to be given up only because every one could not prove clever enough to repeat that story without contradicting others.

Probable Motive.

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One is, therefore, naturally tempted to enquire into the reason of the invention of such a story; specially in view of an observation of the French on 3rd July 1756 (Hill, I, 50) that “the two first days passed in license and all the disorders of a place taken by assault, with the exception of massacre, to which the Moors are not accustomed in regard to people disarmed.”

Was it not due to the consciousness that the dead bodies thrown into the ravelin actually bore marks of gun-shot wounds which caused death during the defence of the fort? When the story had to be given up, something had to be retained to account for these marks of injuries; and so the final story retained the allegation that many “wounded” persons had also been thrust into the Black Hole; although there could be no motive for any one to take such an unnecessary step; in as much as the “wounded” could have raised no apprehension in the minds of the Nawab’s army.

Holwell's Caution.

Under these circumstances, Holwell very soon came to take caution. He nowhere acknowledged in his subsequent correspondence that he had given out a story at Cossimbazar, much less a story of "firing," although he admitted he had written a letter to Mr. Law, the French Chief of that station.

In his letter to his dear friend, William Davis, written on 28th February 1757, Holwell gave a detailed account of his voyage to Murshidabad as a prisoner (*India Tracts*, Third Edition, p. 111). In this letter he referred to the English factory at Cossimbazar by saying only this that,—“passing by our fort and factory at Cossimbazar raised some melancholy reflections amongst us.” Maintaining a discreet silence about the statement made at Cossimbazar, he deliberately placed his arrival “in sight of the French factory” of that station on the 7th of July, (Hill, I, 115 and *India Tracts*) evidently to impose Sykes, who noted (Hill, I, 61) on the 8th July that, “*this morning* Mr. Holwell, Count. Walcott, and one Burge (Burdett?) a writer, passed by on their way to Murshidabad, prisoners in iron.” The omission on the part of Holwell to refer to his Cossimbazar statement is significant; it betrays an evident solicitude to suppress his connection with the discarded first story of the “firing.”

Different Stories.

When Drake and others left the fort, they left behind more than 200 men (Hill, III, 169). “Without counting the Armenians and the Portuguese (Hill, II, 129) those who were left behind found that “They numbered 170 men Capable of defence.” The story that was carried to Captain Grant (Hill, I, 83) and to Roger Drake (Hill, I, 165) at Fulta, was the story of the imprisonment of 200 persons. This story of the imprisonment of the entire garrison, thoughtlessly left behind by Drake, was carried only to two places, —Fulta and Chandernagore,—evidently to blacken the character of the deserters, whose conduct had been harshly criticised by Holwell on the rampart. This number had, however, to be subsequently changed. Why was it changed? The inference is irresistible that when the story was found to be insupportable and inconsistent with the dimensions of the Black Hole, it came down to the imprisonment of 160 persons. Holwell, immediately after his release, in his letter of the 17th July 1756, narrated the imprisonment of 165 or 170 persons; and the death of all but 6. His next account, written from Hugli on 3rd August 1756, disclosed another story. In this he said he had “over-reckoned the number of the prisoners and the number of the dead,” the former being really 116, and the latter 123. Why had Holwell at first “over-reckoned” and what materials he obtained afterwards to ascertain the correct figures, he never condescended to disclose.

Probable Reason.

One is, therefore, naturally tempted to enquire into the cause of this change. The Black Hole, according to Mr. Holwell, was 18 feet square; and reserving 2 × 1 square feet for each person, ordinary Arithmetic would allow only 162 persons to be put into it. Was not this Arithmetic responsible for fixing upon the number of 160 persons? Strangely enough, Holwell gave the number as 160 in his first account communicated to Sykes. Strangely enough, news had also been carried to Chandernagore (Hill, I, 50),—the first news of the tragedy,—by another informant, who also reported the imprisonment of exactly the same number of persons.

The current story shows that this number was also ultimately abandoned. Was

it due to any further calculation that more than 146 persons could not have been in the fort on the 20th June?

Evident Concert. The records of the period can hardly explain the psychology of this "over-reckoning" of prisoners to the same extent by two informants, who carried the earliest account to two different stations.—Cossimbazar and Chandernagore. Was not this another and equally convincing instance of concert?

Final Account. A mystery hangs about the letter of John Young, Prussian Supercargo as to its date,—the 10th July 1756 (Hill, I, 65). In this letter he noted that "Holwell with his fellow partners of misery and affliction, from the moment of their capture to that of their release, came to Chandernagore a few days ago." Their coming to Chandernagore was no doubt a fact; but that must have been an event of a date subsequent to their release, which took place on the 16th of July,—subsequent also to the 17th of July on which date Holwell wrote from Murshidabad,—and probably subsequent to the 3rd of August, when he wrote from Hugli. Thus, the letter of John Young must have been a letter of a subsequent date. By that time the story had been finally settled, viz.,—146 "wounded and unwounded of all ranks" had been imprisoned, and 23 only survived. This going round the European settlements by Holwell and his fellow-sufferers coincides with the final reduction of the number. It makes all subsequent French and Dutch reports lose their value as independent accounts of a real episode of History.

Nationality of Prisoners. If there was uncertainty about the number of prisoners, there was no less uncertainty about their nationality. According to some the prisoners included Portuguese and Armenians, "of which many were wounded" (Hill, I, 88). But according to another, all Portuguese and Armenians received pardon, and left the fort (Hill, II, p. 182; p. 301). Holwell on the other hand, alleged that the prisoners included Dutch and English whites and Portuguese blacks. If any Dutch had actually died in the Black Hole, the Dutch in Bengal took no notice of it: this was hardly probable.

The Real Question. Mr. Hill is satisfied with the truth of the story, not as a historian, but as one who takes the contemporary historian to be his infallible guide. The special "acceptance by the great contemporary historian Robert Orme" weighs greatly with him. He cites Captain Mills, Sykes, William Lindsay and the French at Cossimbazar and Chandernagore as witnesses, who are said to supply "confirmation and corroboration." Neither in the Introduction to his work, nor in his letter now published in *The Englishman*, has Mr. Hill tried to face the real question,—a question, which is concerned only with the direct evidence of the imprisonment of 146 persons, and the death of 123; because the imprisonment of Holwell and a few of the principal persons likely to know the hidden treasure, and the death of no one from suffocation would not constitute the tragedy. To support the current story, there must be evidence of the imprisonment of 146, and the death of 123. Who were they? That is the real question, which must legitimately demand to know the names of all. In the absence of evidence on that point, a true historian cannot go beyond saying that the story should be called "not to be proven."

This verdict, which really applies to the story in question, has been, b^f an irony

pure Research.

of fate, sought to be applied to the theory advanced by Mr. Little. Mr. Hill has, therefore, sincerely hoped "that in future, instead of indulging in practical jokes, Mr. Little will direct his energies into some more fruitful lines of historical research." One such fruitful line for Mr. Little should have been the History of the History of this period, which alone could have cleared the ground of all unscholarly freedom of language and verdict.

In the absence of such research work, *The Pioneer* discovers a formidable obstacle for Mr. Little to overcome. "If the Black Hole incident had never taken place at all," says *The Pioneer*, "Holwell, who was no fool, would have known better than to put forward his own account of it." But in spite of this "formidable obstacle," Holwell actually invented another story, -- the story of the Dacca massacre, -- about which the English Council of Calcutta had to record that it had "not the least foundation in truth." Although Mr. Little referred to this, *The Pioneer* did not notice it, or refute it in any way. Such is the critical atmosphere in which knowledge struggles to advance in India.

IV.

The Last Questions : Names of Victims.

Coming now to the last question,--the names of the victims, we have to admit that, do what we may, we shall never know the names of all who were imprisoned,--of all who perished,--and of all who survived. We must abandon all critical inquisitiveness and remain conveniently satisfied with nothing better than the allegation that 146 persons were thrust into the Black Hole, 123 died of suffocation, and only 23 survived. But who were they? We must never ask to know.

Knowing how the number of prisoners gradually came down from 200 to 146, and knowing how the number of survivors gradually mounted up from 6 to 23, it will be an insult to human intelligence not to suppose that the names, of all who were imprisoned and of all who perished, and also of all who survived, must have been ascertained at some stage to find out the definite numbers related in the current story. But do what we may, we shall never know--when, where, how, and by whom such an enquiry was made, and with what result.

The List of Holwell.

This leads us to only one source of information; and that source leads to the available lists.

The list annexed to the "genuine narrative" of Holwell (Hill, III, 131-154) contains only some of the names,--not all. This list begins by excluding, without any reason, the names of 69 victims; and, therefore, it purports to disclose the names of 54 persons, though as a matter of fact, it comes abruptly to an end with the names of 52 only; still giving us 4 more names than those which Holwell caused to be inscribed on his monument. The list does not give us the occupation or nationality of the excluded 69. This exposes the list to the just criticism of all students of History.

The Genuine Narrative".

This must have convinced Holwell to some extent. His "genuine narrative," with the list annexed, was not published until 1764. It contained a fore word "to the reader," written by Holwell himself, which revealed that he too was not without some misgivings regarding his performance. This "genuine narrative" was originally written as a private letter to a dear friend, on board the Syren-Sloop, when Holwell was going home with the natural expectation of meeting his dear friend in person.

Why was this letter written at all, or written during the voyage? It was not written like a letter of *The Citizen of the World* for the purpose of publication. Holwell assures us that "only through a chain of unforeseen accidents" it came "to appear in print." But it was printed and published with a grim picture, made to order, showing "Governor Holwell confined in the Black Hole," which cannot fail to show that a motive of advertisement could not have been altogether absent; and the alleged cause of publication could not have been absolutely colourless.

Be that as it may, the list, thus published, failed to render any account of 7½ victims,—a large number indeed,—too large to be lightly disregarded as an unimportant matter of unnecessary detail. Yet this list and this "genuine narrative" are the chief foundations on which the current story stands.

**Captain Mill's
Diary.**

The diary of Captain Mills (Hill, I, 40-45), recorded in an octavo pocket book of 16 pages and given to the contemporary historian, who was then in Madras, is another piece of evidence which Mr. Hill now characterises as the first test of Holwell's story; because "this diary still exists and cannot be ignored"; it purports to be a contemporaneous account of events, which happened from day to day from 7th June to 1st July 1756. That it "still exists" cannot show that it "cannot be ignored." Although its existence cannot be ignored, its value will always be ignored whenever it will be properly examined.

**How was it
written?**

We have no evidence that it was recorded from day to day. Such an assumption would lead to many more;—(i) that it was taken by the writer with him into the Black Hole; and so it happened to be preserved during the sack of Calcutta; and (ii) that it was clung to with more than a martyr's steadfastness during all those long hours of unbearable agony in that "night of horrors." It shows at a glance that it could not have been recorded, like an ordinary diary, from day to day; but that it must have been written afterwards for being sent to Madras to Robert Orme, the historian, who had a well-known hobby not only of collecting, but also of preserving all such original documents. This diary records the names of victims and survivors in pages 9-11. In the next page it records the names of those, who escaped, when the fort was taken; and then, in the next page, it records what had happened before the fort was captured. This anachronism makes it forfeit its bonafide character as a diary written up from day to day.

**Supplimentary
Account.**

As the personal narrative of a Captain, engaged in active military work, this diary reveals a significant and disappointing feature, in that it does not disclose any item of personal work done by the narrator. Another account (Hill, I, 194) was sent to Robert Orme to supplement it. But that also gave only an account of what happened to the writer, after he had come out of the Black Hole, until he reached Fulta, on 10th August 1756. According to this account Captain Mills and his companions, after their expulsion from Calcutta on 1st July, came to the Prussian Supercargo, and then to Chandernagore, where they resided till 8th or 9th August 1756.

**The Prussian
Account.**

This makes the Prussian account one of great importance to History. According to this account "20 of the English that escaped death" were the first to come up. John Young recorded what he had heard from them about the fall of Calcutta. He

did not hear a word about the Black Hole. Next appeared Messrs. Watts and Colett; and they too could not disclose the story of the tragedy. Lastly came Holwell and his companions, and from them the story of the Black Hole was heard. This interesting letter of John Young, the Prussian Supercargo (Hill, I, 62-66), discloses an important secret,—it shows at a glance that when Captain Mills appeared, he had no story to tell about the Black Hole.

A report, published in the *London Chronicle*, a year after the event, (Hill, III, 70-74), gives a list of the Europeans "who were in Calcutta when it was taken, but escaped being put into the Black Hole, and were ordered to leave Calcutta by the Moors." This list contains only four names, the very names of Captain Mills and his companions, who were not included in the list of survivors, published in the *London Chronicle*. This makes it difficult to regard Captain Mills' diary as the diary of an eye-witness. He can be hardly put forward as a witness to corroborate Holwell. The same remark applies to Grey Junior (Hill, I, 106-109) who was not also a "survivor," and who did not note (Hill, I, 109) that Captain Mills was one of the survivors.

The report of the *London Chronicle* makes the lists, left by Holwell and Captain Mills, equally unreliable. William Bailley was a member of the Council, and an important person. It was reported in the *London Chronicle* that he had died "with a shot in his head." Of the "gentlemen in service," Carse is said to have been "cut to pieces," having rashly fired a pistol after the place was taken. Lt. Bellamy "shot himself before the attack." Blagg was "cut to pieces on a bastion." Lieutenants Bishop and Paccard died "before the place was taken." Sea-Captains Parnell, Stephenson, Carey, and Grey, "were killed in the attack." But, according to Holwell, these very persons died in the Black Hole; and what is more,—Carey died with thankfulness on his lips for having been offered by Holwell a convenient place, which he could not live to occupy.

The name of Blagg has now been unanimously omitted from the list of victims, and excluded altogether from the names inscribed on the new monument.

Mr. Hill has not, however, considered the effect of this exclusion upon the whole testimony. As the name of Blagg occurs equally in the lists of victims left by Grey junior, Holwell and Captain Mills, was it possible for them to have erred independently or to have dreamt simultaneously regarding his death in the Black Hole? If this is a circumstance, which indicates concert between them, as it does without doubt, does it not affect the entire testimony, and make it difficult to discard one portion and retain the rest?

Holwell disclosed the names of only eleven "survivors, including his own." One of them, Secretary Cooke, was examined by the Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1772. Instead of giving an oral disposition, like the other witnesses, Cooke preferred to hand in a written narrative (Hill, III, 290-303) said to have been "copied with his own hands from notes taken by him soon after the transactions" of 1756. Although the massacre of the Black Hole was not then one of the subjects of the enquiry, Secretary Cooke volunteered an account of it in his statement, an account which must remind one of Holwell's narrative, which had already been then in print.

These facts and circumstances affect the veracity of all the eye witnesses alike, even if we do not allow ourselves to be prejudiced against them on account of the little regard for veracity which they enjoyed from their own contemporaries.

Mr. Little has supplemented his original essay with a long letter in *The Statesman* to discuss Holwell's motive for concoction, and the motive of his concocted story being accepted. The value of this labour lies chiefly in showing that an absolute want of motive cannot be urged in defence of Holwell. When an improbable story is proved to have been started, developed and supported in concert, the question of motive does not really arise, or affect the verdict.

The Story : a
libel.

Although the Black Hole story was open to these objections from the very beginning, yet it was never subjected to any critical investigation by any of the contemporaries of Holwell. In that respect it has left us in utter darkness,—perhaps also in the suffocating atmosphere of a real Black Hole. But this negligence on the part of contemporaries, whose hands were then always full with one question of life and death after another, cannot be accepted as a test of Holwell's story ;—the truth of which must be established by evidence, not by any conduct, opinion, or want of critical faculties of the contemporaries.

As the story goes, it is an undoubted libel against some at least of the British heroes, who sacrificed their lives in doing their duty ;—nay, it is also a general libel against the British love of truth, which Col. Clive and Admiral Watson took every opportunity to refer to in their correspondence with the Nawab.

Mr. Little's
Theory.

In the midst of all these harrowing circumstances, Mr. Little's theory—as to what really happened—comes as a welcome working hypothesis, which agrees better with probable human conduct than the current story of the Black Hole. Mr. Little may, therefore, be congratulated upon his honest attempt to do justice, where justice has been either ignored or delayed for more than a century and a half.

The noble band of heroes, who sacrificed their lives in ignorance of Holwell's solicitude to surrender, have a legitimate claim upon the recognition of History. A tribute, paid to their memory by an alien historian, Nawab Golam Hosain Khan, makes the reticence of their own countrymen all the more prominent and deplorable. Mr. Little, will therefore, command the admiration of all lovers of justice for his noble attempt, inspite of the hesitation of many of his countrymen, which is really due to their inability to look upon his work in its true perspective.

Holwell had associates and devoted ones too. He had more than one in those, who carried the story of the firing at Fulta ; and a principal one in Captain Mills, who supported him regarding the death of Blagg in the Black Hole, and helped him greatly by sending a diary to the contemporary historian. Thus supported, Holwell acted in concert,—which related to two important matters, (i) the number of prisoners (ii) and the death of those in the Black Hole, some of whom at any rate had actually died as heroes in the defence of the fort. With this concert vanishes the large number that is said to have created the suffocation ; and with it vanishes the story of the Black Hole. An unshaken faith in it reveals a want of critical faculty, which Mr. Little is unwilling to claim.

"When we are told," said Lord Acton (*Lecture on the Study of History*,

June 11 1895), "that England is behind the continent in critical faculty, we must admit that this is true as to quantity, not as to quality of work." Mr. Little's work may now be rightly cited as an example of such quality, in contrast with the great body of unscholarly criticism that has cropped up against him.

True it is that this "gigantic hoax" of Holwell is recorded in every text-book as an actual event of History, and we have to teach it, and generations after generations have to continue to learn it by heart. But it is also true, as Lord Acton told us, that,—“the historians of former ages unapproachable for us in knowledge and in talent cannot be our limit. We have the power to be more rigidly impersonal, disinterested, and just than they; and to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with assured hope of better things; bearing this in mind that if we lower our standard in History, we cannot uphold it in Church and State.”

Mr. Little briefly replied.

The Venerable Archdeacon, W. K. Firminger, said that as the hour was late, nearly midnight, he would not detain them beyond expressing the hope that the ladies and gentlemen present who were not members of the Calcutta Historical Society, would join the Society. At present the Society was in a bad way as regards funds, and by becoming members they would not only be engaged in interesting historical work but would also help the Society.

The meeting then separated.

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